Miſcellanea.

THE SECOND PART.

In Four

ESSAYS.

I. *Upon Ancient and Modern Learning.*
II. *Upon the Gardens of* Epicurus.
III. *Upon Heroick Vertue.*
IV. *Upon Poetry.*

BY

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*
BARONET.

——— *Juvat antiquos accedere Fontes.*

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At Rei Literariæ non alienas

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MISCELLANEA.

An Eſſay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning.

WHoever Converſes much among the Old Books, will be ſomething hard to pleaſe among the New; yet theſe muſt have their Part too in the leiſure of an idle Man, and have many of them, their Beauties as well as their Defaults. Thoſe of Story, or Relations of matter of Fact, have a value from their Subſtance, as much as from their Form, and the variety of Events, is ſeldom without Entertainment or Inſtruction, how indifferently ſoever the Tale is told. Other ſorts of Writings have little of eſteem, but what they receive from the Wit, Learning, or Genius of the Authors, and are ſeldom met with of any excellency,

becauſe they do but trace over the Paths that have been beaten by the Ancients or Comment Critick and Flouriſh upon them; and are at beſt but Copies after thoſe Originals, unleſs upon Subjects never touched by them; ſuch as are all that relate to the different Conſtitutions of Religions, Laws, or Governments in ſeveral Countries, with all matters of Controverſie that ariſe upon them.

Two Pieces that have lately pleaſed me (abſtracted from any of theſe Subjects) are, one in *Engliſh* upon the *Antideluvian* World; and another in *French*, upon the *Plurality of Worlds*; one Writ by a Divine, and the other by a Gentleman, but both very finely in their ſeveral Kinds, and upon their ſeveral Subjects, which would have made very poor work in common hands: I was ſo pleaſed with the laſt (I mean the Faſhion of it, rather than the Matter, which is old and beaten) that I enquired for what elſe I could of the ſame hand, till I met with a ſmall Piece concerning Poeſie, which gave me the ſame exception to both theſe Authors, whom I ſhould otherwiſe have been very partial to. For the firſt, could not end his

Learned

Learned Treatiſe, without a Panegyrick of Modern Learning, and Knowledge in compariſon of the Ancient: And the other falls ſo groſly into the cenſure of the Old Poetry, and preference of the New, that I could not read either of theſe Strains, without ſome indignation, which no quality among Men is ſo apt to raiſe in me as Sufficiency, the worſt compoſition out of the pride and ignorance of Mankind. But theſe two, being not the only Perſons of the Age that defend theſe Opinions, it may be worth examining how far either Reaſon or Experience can be allowed to plead or determin in their favor.

The Force of all that I have met with upon this Subject, either in Talk or Writing, is, Firſt, as to Knowledge, That we muſt have more than the Ancients, becauſe we have the advantage both of theirs and our own, which is commonly illuſtrated by the Similitude of a Dwarfs ſtanding upon a Gyants Shoulders, and ſeeing more or farther than he. Next, as to Wit or Genius, that Nature being ſtill the ſame, theſe muſt be much at a Rate in all Ages, at leaſt in the ſame Clymates, as the Growth

Growth and Size of Plants and Animals commonly are: And if both theſe are allowed, they think the Cauſe is gained. But I cannot tell why we ſhould conclude, that the Ancient Writers had not as much Advantage from the Knowledge of others, that were Ancient to them, as we have from thoſe that are Ancient to us. The Invention of Printing, has not perhaps multiplied Books, but only the Copies of them; and if we believe there were Six Hundred Thouſand in the Library of *Ptolomy*, we ſhall hardly pretend to equal it by any of ours, nor perhaps, by all put together; I mean ſo many Originals, that have lived any time, and thereby given Teſtimony of their having been thought worth preſerving. For the Scribbles are infinite, that like Muſhrooms or Flies, are born and die in ſmall circles of time; whereas Books like Proverbs, receive their Chief Value from the Stamp and Eſteem of Ages through which they have paſſed. Beſides, the account of this Library at *Alexandria*, and others very Voluminous in the leſſer *Aſia* and *Rome*, we have frequent mention of Ancient Writers in many of thoſe Books which we

we now call Ancient, both Philoſophers and Hiſtorians. 'Tis true, that beſides what we have in Scripture concerning the Original and Progreſs of the *Jewiſh* Nation; all that paſſed in the reſt of our World before the *Trojan* War, is either ſunk in the depths of Time, wrapt up in the Myſteries of Fables, or ſo maimed by the want of Teſtimonies and loſs of Authors, that it appears to us in too obſcure a light, to make any Judgment upon it. For the Fragments of *Manethon* about the Antiquities of *Egypt*, the Relations in *Juſtin* concerning the *Scythian* Empire, and many others in *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, as well as the Records of *China*, make ſuch Excurſions beyond the periods of Time given us by the Holy Scriptures, that we are not allowed to Reaſon upon them. And this diſagreement it ſelf after ſo great a part of the World became Chriſtian, may have contributed to the loſs of many ancient Authors. For *Solomon* tells us even in his time, of Writing many Books there was no end; and whoever conſiders the Subject and the Style of *Job*, which by many is thought more ancient than *Moſes*, will hardly think

think it was Written in an Age or Country that wanted either Books or Learning; and yet he ſpeaks of the Ancients then and their Wiſdom as we do now.

But if any ſhould ſo very raſhly and preſumptuouſly conclude, That there were few Books before thoſe we have either Extant or upon Record; yet that cannot argue there was no Knowledge or Learning before thoſe periods of Time, whereof they give us the ſhort account. Books may be helps to Learning and Knowledge, and make it more common and diffuſed; but I doubt, whether they are neceſſary ones or no, or much advance any other Science, beyond the particular Records of Actions or Regiſters of Time; and theſe perhaps, might be as long preſerved without them, by the care and exactneſs of Tradition in the long Succeſſions of certain Races of Men, with whom they were intruſted. So in *Mexico* and *Peru*, before the leaſt uſe or mention of Letters, there was remaining among them, the knowledg of what had paſſed in thoſe mighty Nations and Governments for many Ages. Whereas in *Ireland*, that is ſaid to have flouriſhed in Books

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and Learning before they had much Progreſs in *Gaul* or *Britany*; there are now hardly any Traces left of what paſſed there, before the Conqueſt made of that Country by the *Engliſh* in *Henry* the Second's Time. A ſtrange but plain Demonſtration, how Knowledge and Ignorance, as well as Civility and Barbariſm, may ſucceed in the ſeveral Countries in the World, how much better the Records of Time may be kept by Tradition in one Country than Writing in another; and how much we owe to thoſe Learned Languages of *Greek* and *Latin*, without which, for ought I know, the World in all theſe *Weſtern* Parts, would hardly be known to have been above five or ſix Hundred Years old, nor any certainty remain of what paſſed in it before that time.

'Tis true, in the *Eaſtern* Regions, there ſeems to have been a general Cuſtom of the Prieſts in each Country; having been either by their own Choice, or by Deſign of the Governments, the perpetual Conſervers of Knowledg and Story. Only in *China*, this laſt was committed particularly to certain Officers of State, who were appointed or con-

continued upon every acceſſion to that Crown, to Regiſter diſtinctly the times and memorable Events of each Reign. In *Ethiopia*, *Egypt*, *Caldea*, *Perſia*, *Syria*, *Judea*, theſe Cares were committed wholly to the Prieſts, who were not leſs diligent in the Regiſters of Times and Actions, than in the Study and Succeſſive Propagation thereby of all Natural *Science* and *Philoſophy*. Whether this was managed by Letters, or Tradition, or by both; 'tis certain the Ancient Colleges, or Societies of Prieſts, were mighty Reſervoirs or Lakes of Knowledge, into which, ſome Streams entred perhaps every Age, from the Obſervations or Inventions of any great Spirits or tranſcendent Genius's, that happened to riſe among them: And nothing was loſt out of theſe Stores, ſince the part of conſerving what others have gained, either in Knowledg or Empire, is as common and eaſie, as the other is hard and rare among Men.

In theſe Soyls were planted and cultivated thoſe mighty growths of *Aſtronomy*, *Aſtrology*, *Magick*, *Geometry*, Natural *Philoſophy*, and Ancient *Story*. From theſe Sources, *Orpheus*, *Homer*, *Lycurgus*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and others of

of the Ancients, are acknowledged to have drawn all thoſe Depths of Knowledge or Learning, which have made them ſo renowned in all ſucceeding Ages. I make a Diſtinction between theſe Two, taking Knowledge to be properly meant of things that are generally agreed to be true by Conſent of thoſe that firſt found them out or have been ſince inſtructed in them; but Learning is the Knowledge of the different and conteſted Opinions of Men in former Ages, and about which they have perhaps never agreed in any; and this makes ſo much of one, and ſo little of the other in the World.

Now to judge, Whether the Ancients or Moderns, can be probably thought to have made the greateſt Progreſs in the Search and Diſcoveries of the vaſt Region of Truth and Nature; it will be worth enquiring, What Guides have been uſed, and what Labours employed by the one and the other in theſe Noble Travels and Purſuits.

The Modern Scholars have their uſual Recourſe to the Univerſities of their Countries; ſome few it may be to thoſe of their Neighbours; and this, in queſt

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of Books rather than Men for their Guides, though theſe are living, and thoſe in compariſon, but dead Inſtructors; which like an Hand with an Inſcription, can point out the ſtraight way upon the Road, but can neither tell you the next Turnings, reſolve your Doubts, or anſwer your Queſtions, like a Guide that has traced it over, and perhaps knows it as well as his Chamber. And who are theſe dead Guides we ſeek in our Journey? They are at beſt but ſome few Authors that remain among us, of a great many that wrote in Greek and Latine, from the Age of *Hypocrates* to that of *Marcus Antoninus*, which reaches not much above Six Hundred Years. Before that time I know none, beſides ſome Poets, ſome Fables, and ſome few Epiſtles; and ſince that time, I know very few that can pretend to be Authors, rather than Tranſcribers or Commentators of the Ancient Learning: Now to conſider at what Sources our Ancients drew their Water, and with what unwearied Pains: 'Tis evident *Thales* and *Pythagoras* were the Two Founders of the *Grecian* Philoſophy; the Firſt, gave beginning to the *Ionick*

Sect

Sect, and the other to the *Italick*; out of which, all the others celebrated in *Greece* or *Rome* were derived or compoſed: *Thales* was the Firſt of the *Sophi*, or Wiſe Men, Famous in *Greece*; and is ſaid to have learned his *Aſtronomy*, *Geometry*, *Aſtrology*, *Theology*, in his Travels from his Country *Miletus*, to *Ægypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Crete*, and *Delphos*: *Pythagoras* was the Father of Philoſophers, and of the Vertues, having in Modeſty, choſen the Name of a Lover of Wiſdom rather than of Wiſe; and having firſt introduced the Names of the Four Cardinal Vertues, and given them the Place and Rank they have held ever ſince in the World: Of theſe Two mighty Men remain no Writings at all; for thoſe Golden Verſes, that go under the Name of *Pythagoras*, are generally rejected as ſpurious, like many other Fragments of *Sybils* or Old Poets, and ſome entire Poems that run with Ancient Names: Nor is it agreed, Whether he ever left any thing written to his Scholars or Contemporaries; or whether all that learnt of him, did it not by the Ear and Memory; and all that remained of him, for ſome ſucceeding Ages, were not by Tradition.

But whether theſe ever writ or no, they were the Fountains, out of which the following *Greek* Philoſophers drew all thoſe Streams that have ſince watered the Studies of the Learned World, and furniſhed the Voluminous Writings of ſo many Sects, as paſſed afterwards under the common Name of Philoſophers.

As there were Guides to thoſe that we call Ancients, ſo there were others that were Guides to them, in whoſe Search they travelled far and laboured long.

There is nothing more agreed, than, That all the Learning of the *Greeks* was deduced Originally from *Ægypt* or *Phœnicia*; but, Whether theirs might not have flouriſhed to that Degree it did, by the Commerce of the *Æthiopians*, *Chaldæans*, *Arabians* and *Indians*, is not ſo evident, (though I am very apt to believe it) and to moſt of theſe Regions ſome of the *Grecians* travelled, in Search of thoſe Golden Mines of Learning and Knowledge: Not to mention the Voyages of *Orpheus*, *Muſæus*, *Lycurgus*, *Thales*, *Solon*, *Democritus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato* and that vain Sophiſt, *Apollonius*, (who was

was but an Ape of the Ancient Philoſophers) I ſhall only trace, thoſe of *Pythagoras*, who ſeems of all others, to have gone the fartheſt upon this Deſign, and to have brought home the greateſt Treaſures. He went firſt to *Ægypt*, where he ſpent Two and Twenty Years in Study and Converſation, among the ſeveral Colledges of Prieſts, in *Memphis*, *Thebes*, and *Heliopolis*, was initiated in all their ſeveral Myſteries, in Order to gain Admittance and Inſtruction, in the Learning and Sciences that were there, in their higheſt Aſcendent. Twelve Years, He ſpent in *Babylon*, and in the Studies and Learning of the Prieſts or *Magi* of the *Chaldæans*. Beſides, theſe long abodes in thoſe Two Regions, celebrated for ancient Learning, and where one Author, according to their Calculations, ſays, He gained the Obſervations of innumerable Ages, He travelled likewiſe upon the ſame Sent, into *Æthiopia*, *Arabia*, *India*, to *Crete*, to *Delphos*, and to all the Oracles that were Renowned in any of theſe Regions.

What ſort of Mortals, ſome of thoſe may have been, that he went ſo far to ſeek, I ſhall only endeavour to Trace

out, by the moſt ancient Accounts, that are given of the *Indian Brachmans*, ſince thoſe of the Learned or Sages in the other Countries, occur more frequent in Story. Theſe, were all of one Race or Tribe, that was kept chaſt from any other mixture, and were dedicated wholly to the Service of the Gods, to the Studies of Wiſdom and Nature, and to the Councel of their Princes. There was not only particular care taken of their Birth and Nurture, but even from their Conception. For when a Woman among them was known to have Conceived, much thought and diligence was imployed about her Dyet and Entertainments, ſo far, as to furniſh her with pleaſant imaginations, to compoſe her mind and her ſleeps, with the beſt temper, during the time ſhe carried her Burthen: This, I take to be a ſtrain, beyond all the *Grecian* Wit, or the Conſtitutions even of their imaginary Law-givers, who began their cares of Mankind, only after their Birth, and none before. Thoſe of the *Brachmans*, continued in the ſame Degree for their Education and Inſtruction, in which, and their Studies, and Diſcipline of their Colledges, or ſeparate abodes in Woods and Fields, they

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ſpent Thirty Seven Years. Their Learning and Inſtitutions were unwritten, and only traditional among themſelves by a perpetual Succeſſion. Their Opinions in Natural Philoſophy, were, That the World was round, That it had a beginning, and would have an end, but reckoned both by immenſe periods of Time; That the Author of it, was a Spirit, or a Mind, that pervaded the whole Univerſe, and was diffuſed, through all the Parts of it. They held the Tranſmigration of Souls, and ſome uſed diſcourſes of Infernal Manſions, in many things, like thoſe of *Plato*. Their Moral Philoſophy conſiſted chiefly, in preventing all Diſeaſes or Diſtempers of the Body, from which, they eſteemed the perturbations of Mind, in a great meaſure to ariſe. Then, in compoſing the Mind, and exempting it from all anxious Cares, eſteeming the troubleſome and ſollicitous thoughts about Paſt and Future, to be like ſo many Dreams, and no more to be regarded. They deſpiſed both life and death, pleaſure and pain, or at leaſt thought them perfectly indifferent. Their Juſtice, was exact and exemplary; their Temperance ſo great, that they lived upon Rice or

Herbs, and upon nothing, that had ſenſitive Life. If they fell ſick, they counted it ſuch a Mark of Intemperance, that they would frequently dye, out of Shame and Sullenneſs, but many lived an Hundred and Fifty, and ſome Two Hundred Years.

Their Wiſdom was ſo highly eſteemed, that ſome of them were always imployed to follow the Courts of their Kings, to adviſe them upon all Occaſions, and inſtruct them in Juſtice and Piety, and upon this Regard, *Calanus* and ſome others, are ſaid to have followed the Camp of *Alexander*, after his Conqueſt of one of their Kings. The Magical Operations, reported of them, are ſo wonderful, that they muſt either, be wholly disbelieved, or will make eaſie way, for the Credit of all thoſe, that we ſo often meet with, in the latter Relations of the *Indies*. Above all the reſt, their Fortitude was moſt admirable, in their Patience and Endurance of all Evils, of Pain, and of Death; ſome ſtanding, ſitting, lying, without any Motion, whole days together, in the ſcorching Sun; others ſtanding, whole nights upon one Leg, and holding up a heavy piece of Wood

or

or Stone in both hands, without ever moving, (which might be done, upon ſome ſort of Penances uſually among them.) They frequently ended their Lives by their own Choice, and not neceſſity, and moſt uſually by Fire; ſome upon Sickneſs, others upon Misfortunes, ſome upon meer ſatiety of Life; ſo *Calanus* in *Alexander*'s Time, burn't himſelf publickly, upon growing old and infirm; *Zormanochages*, in the Time of *Auguſtus*, upon his conſtant Health and Felicity, and to prevent his living ſo long, as to fall into Diſeaſes or Misfortunes. Theſe were the *Brachman*'s of *India*, by the moſt Ancient Relations remaining of them, and which Compared with our Modern, (ſince Navigation and Trade, have diſcovered ſo much of thoſe vaſt Countries) make it eaſie to conjecture, that the preſent *Baniams* have derived from them, many of their Cuſtoms and Opinions, which are ſtill very like them, after the Courſe of Two Thouſand Years. For how long, Nations, without the Changes introduced by Conqueſt, may continue in the ſame Cuſtoms, Inſtitutions, and Opinions, will be eaſily obſerved, in the Stories of the

Peruvians and *Mexicans* of the *Chineſes* and *Scythians*: Theſe laſt, being deſcribed by *Herodotus*, to lodge always in Carts, and to feed commonly upon the Milk of Mares, as the *Tartars* are reported to do at this time, in many Parts of thoſe Vaſt *Nothern* Regions.

From theſe famous *Indians*, it ſeems to me moſt probable, that *Pythagoras* learn't, and tranſported into *Greece* and *Italy*, the greateſt part, of his Natural and Moral Philoſophy, rather than from the *Ægyptians*, as is commonly ſuppoſed: For I have not obſerved, any mention of the Tranſmigration of Souls, held among the *Ægyptians*, more ancient, than the Time of *Pythagoras*: On the contrary, *Orpheus*, is ſaid, to have brought out of *Ægypt*, all his Myſtical Theology, with the Stories of the *Stygian* Lake, *Charon*, the Infernal Judges, which were wrought up by the ſucceeding Poets (with a Mixture of the *Cretan* Tales or Traditions) into that Part of the *Pagan* Religion, ſo long obſerved by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Now 'tis obvious, that this, was in all Parts, very different from the *Pythagorean* Opinion of Tranſmigration,

migration, which, though it was preſerved long, among ſome of the ſucceeding Philoſophers, yet never entered into the vulgar Belief of *Greece* or *Italy*.

Nor does it ſeem unlikely, that the *Ægyptians* themſelves, might have drawn much of their Learning from the *Indians*, for they are obſerved, in ſome Authors, to have done it from the *Æthiopians*; and Chronologers I think agree, that theſe were a Colony, that came anciently from the River *Indus*, and planted themſelves upon that Part of *Africa*, which from their Name, was afterward called *Æthiopia*, and in probability brought their Learning and their Cuſtoms with them. The *Phœnicians*, are likewiſe ſaid, to have been anciently a Colony, that came from the *Red-Sea*, and planted themſelves, upon the *Mediterranean*, and from thence ſpread ſo far the Fame of their Learning, and their Navigations.

To ſtrengthen this Conjecture, of much Learning, being derived from ſuch remote and ancient Fountains as the *Indies*, and perhaps *China*; it may be aſſerted with great Evidence, that though

though we know little, of the Antiquities of *India*, beyond *Alexander*'s time; yet thoſe of *China*, are the oldeſt, that any where pretend to any fair Records: For theſe are agreed, by the Miſſionary Jeſuits, to extend ſo far above Four Thouſand Years, and with ſuch Appearance of clear and undeniable Teſtimonies, that thoſe Religious Men themſelves, rather than queſtion their Truth, by finding them contrary to the vulgar Chronology of the Scripture, are content to have Recourſe to that of the *Septuagint*, and thereby, to ſalve the Appearances, in thoſe Records of the *Chineſes*. Now though we have been deprived the Knowledge, of what Courſe, Learning may have held, and to what heights it may have ſoared, in that vaſt Region, and during ſo great Antiquity of Time, by reaſon of the Savage Ambition of one of their Kings, who deſirous to begin the Period of Hiſtory from his own Reign, ordered all Books to be burnt, except thoſe of Phyſick and Agriculture; ſo that, what we have remaining beſides, of that wiſe and ancient Nation, is but what was either by chance, or by private Induſtry reſcued

cued out of that publick Calamity, (among which, were a Copy of the Records and Succeſſions of the Crown;) yet it is obſervable and agreed, that as the Opinions of the Learned among them are at preſent, ſo they were anciently, divided into two Sects, whereof one held the Tranſmigration of Souls, and the other the Eternity of Matter, comparing the World to a great Maſs of Metal, out of which, ſome Parts are continually made up into a thouſand various Figures, and after certain Periods, melted down again into the ſame Maſs. That there were many Volumes, written of old in Natural Philoſophy among them: That near the Age of *Socrates*, lived their Great and Renowned *Confutius*, who began the ſame Deſign, of reclaiming Men from the uſeleſs and endleſs Speculations of Nature, to thoſe of Morality. But with this Difference, that the Bent of the *Grecian*, ſeemed to be chiefly, upon the Happyneſs of private Men or Families, but that of the *Chineſe*, upon the good Temperament and Felicity of ſuch Kingdoms or Governments, as that was, and is, known to have continued for ſeveral Thouſands

Thouſands of Years, and may be properly called, a Government of Learned Men, ſince no other are admitted into Charges of the State.

For my own Part, I am much inclined to believe, that in theſe Remote Regions, not only *Pythagoras* learn't the firſt Principles, both of his Natural and Moral Philoſophy, but that thoſe of *Democritus*, (who Travelled into *Ægypt*, *Caldæa* and *India*, and whoſe Doctrins were after improved by *Epicurus*) might have been derived from the ſame Fountains, and that long before them both; *Lycurgus* who likewiſe Travelled into *India*, brought from thence alſo, the Chief Principles of his Laws and Politicks, ſo much Renowned in the World.

For whoever obſerves the Account already given of the Ancient *Indian*, and *Chineſe* Learning and Opinions, will eaſily find among them, the Seeds of all theſe *Grecian* Productions and Inſtitutions: As the Tranſmigration of Souls, and the four Cardinal Vertues; The long Silence enjoyned his Scholars, and Propagation of their Doctrins by Tradition, rather than Letters; and Abſtinence from all Meats, that

that had Animal Life, introduced by *Pythagoras*. The Eternity of Matter, with perpetual changes of Form; the Indolence of Body, and Tranquility of Mind, by *Epicurus*. And among thoſe of *Lycurgus*; the Care of Education from the Birth of Children, the *Auſtere* Temperance of Diet, the patient endurance of Toil and Pain, the neglect or contempt of Life, the uſe of Gold and Silver only in their Temples, the Defence of Commerce with Strangers, and ſeveral others, by him eſtabliſhed among the *Spartans*, ſeem all to be wholly *Indian*, and different from any Race or Vein of Thought and Imagination, that have ever appeared in *Greece*, either in that Age or any ſince.

It may look like a Paradox to deduce Learning, from Regions accounted commonly ſo barbarous and rude. And 'tis true, the generality of People were always ſo, in thoſe *Eaſtern* Countries, and their lives wholly turned to Agriculture, to Mechanicks, or to Trades: But this does not hinder, particular Races or Succeſſions of Men, (the deſign of whoſe thought and time was turned wholly to Learning and Knowledge) from having been, what they

they are repreſented, and what they deſerve to be eſteemed; ſince among the *Gauls*, the *Goths*, and the *Peruvians* themſelves, there have been ſuch Races of Men under the Names of *Druids*, *Bards*, *Amautas*, *Runers*, and other barbarous Appellations.

Beſides, I know no Circumſtances, like to contribute more to the advancement of Knowledge and Learning, among Men, than exact Temperance in their Races, great pureneſs of Air, and equality of Clymate, long Tranquility of Empire or Government: And all theſe we may juſtly allow to thoſe *Eaſtern* Regions, more than any others we are acquainted with, at leaſt till the Conqueſts made by the *Tartars*, upon both *India* and *China*, in the later Centuries. However, it may be as Pardonable, to derive ſome parts of Learning from thence, as to go ſo far for the Game of *Cheſs*, which ſome Curious and Learned Men have deduced from *India* into *Europe*, by Two ſeveral Roads, that is, by *Perſia* into *Greece*, and by *Arabia* into *Africk* and *Spain*.

Thus much, I thought, might be allowed me to ſay, for the giving ſome Idea, of what thoſe Sages or Learned Men,

Men, were, or may have been, who were Ancients to thoſe that are Ancients to us. Now to obſerve, what theſe have been, is more eaſie and obvious. The moſt ancient *Grecians*, that we are at all acquainted with, after *Lycurgus*, who was certainly a great Philoſopher as well as Law-giver, were the Seven Sages. Tho' the Court of *Cræſus* is ſaid to have been much reſorted to, by the Sophiſts of *Greece*, in the happy beginnings of his Reign. And ſome of theſe Seven ſeem to have brought moſt of the Sciences, out of *Ægypt* and *Phœnicia*, into *Greece*, particularly, thoſe of *Aſtronomy*, *Aſtrology*, *Geometry*, and *Arithmetick*. Theſe were ſoon followed, by *Pythagoras*, (who ſeems to have introduced Natural and Moral Philoſophy) and by ſeveral of his Followers, both in *Greece* and *Italy*. But of all theſe, there remains nothing in Writing now among us, ſo that *Hyppocrates*, *Plato*, and *Xenophon*, are the firſt Philoſophers, whoſe Works have eſcaped the Injuries of Time. But that we may not conclude, the firſt Writers we have of the *Grecians*, were the firſt Learned or Wiſe among them. We ſhall find upon enquiry, that the more

ancient

ancient Sages of *Greece*, appear by the Characters remaining of them, to have been much the greater Men. They were generally Princes or Law-givers of their Countries, or at leaſt offered and invited to be ſo, either of their own or of others, that deſired them to frame or reform their ſeveral Inſtitutions of Civil Government. They were commonly excellent Poets, and great Phyſicians; they were ſo learned in Natural Philoſophy, that they foretold, not only Eclipſes in the Heavens, but Earthquakes at Land, and Storms at Sea, great Drowths and great Plagues, much Plenty or much Scarcity of certain ſorts of Fruits or Grain, not to mention the Magical Powers, attributed to ſeveral of them, to allay Storms, to raiſe Gales, to appeaſe Commotions of People, to make Plagues ceaſe; which qualities, whether upon any ground of Truth or no, yet if well believed, muſt have raiſed them to that ſtrange height they were at, of common eſteem and honour, in their own and ſucceeding Ages.

By all this may be determined, whether our Moderns or our Ancients, may have had the greater and the bet-

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ter Guides, and which of them, have taken the greater pains, and with the more application in the purſuit of Knowledge. And I think, it is enough to ſhew, that the advantage we have, from thoſe we call the Ancients, may not be greater, than what they had, from thoſe that were ſo to them.

But after all, I do not know, whether the high flights of Wit and Knowledge, like thoſe of Power and Empire in the World, may not have been made by the pure Native Force of Spirit or Genius, in ſome ſingle men, rather than by any derived ſtrength among them, however encreaſed by Succeſſion, and whether they may not have been, the Atchievements of Nature, rather than the Improvements of Art. Thus the Conqueſts of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, of *Alexander* and *Tamerlane*, which I take, to have been the greateſt, Recorded in Story, were at their heighth, in thoſe Perſons that began them, and ſo far from being encreaſed by their Succeſſors, that they were not preſerved, in their extent and vigour by any of them; grew weaker in every hand they paſſed through, or were divided into many, that ſet

up for great Princes, out of ſeveral ſmall ruins of the Firſt Empires, till they withered away in time, or were loſt by the change of Names and Forms of Families or of Governments.

Juſt the ſame Fate ſeems to have attended, the higheſt flights of Learning and of Knowledge, that are upon our Regiſters. *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Epicurus*, were the firſt mighty Conquerors of Ignorance in our World, and made greater progreſſes, in the ſeveral Empires of Science, than any of their Succeſſors have been ſince able to reach. Theſe have hardly ever pretended more, than to learn what the others taught, to remember what they invented, and not able to compaſs that it ſelf, they have ſet up for Authors, upon ſome parcels of thoſe great Stocks, or elſe have contented themſelves only to comment upon thoſe Texts, and make the beſt Copies they could, after thoſe Originals.

I have long thought, that the different abilities of Men, which we call Wiſdom or Prudence, for the conduct of Publick Affairs or Private Life, grow directly out of that little grain of Intellect

tellect or Good Senſe, which they bring with them into the World, and that the defect of it in Men, comes from ſome want in their Conception or Birth.

--------*Dixitq; ſemel Naſcentibus Author*
Quicquid ſcire licet-----

And though this, may be improved or impaired in ſome degree, by accidents of Education, of Study, and of Converſation or Buſineſs, yet it cannot go beyond the reach of it's Native Force, no more than Life can, beyond the period to which it was deſtined, by the ſtrength or weakneſs, of the ſeminal Vertue.

If theſe ſpeculations ſhould be true, then I know not what advantages we can pretend to modern Knowledge, by any we receive from the Ancients; Nay, 'tis poſſible, men may loſe rather than gain by them, may leſſen the Force and Growth of their own Genius, by conſtraining and forming it upon that of others, may have leſs Knowledge of their own, for contenting themſelves with that of thoſe before them. So a Man that only Tranſlates

ſhall never be a Poet, nor a Painter that only Copies, nor a Swimmer that Swims always with Bladders. So People that truſt wholly to others Charity, and without Induſtry of their own, will be always poor. Beſides, who can tell, whether Learning may not even weaken Invention, in a Man that has great Advantages from Nature and Birth, whether the weight and number of ſo many other Mens thoughts and notions, may not ſuppreſs his own, or hinder the motion or agitation of them, from which all Invention ariſes; As heaping on Wood or too many Sticks, or too cloſe together, ſuppreſſes and ſometimes quite extinguiſhes, a little Spark that would otherwiſe have grown up to a noble Flame. The ſtrength of Mind as well as of Body, grows more from the warmth of Exerciſe than of Cloaths, nay, too much of this Foreign Heat, rather makes Men faint, and their Conſtitutions tender or weaker, than they would be without them. Let it come about how it will, if we are Dwarfs, we are ſtill ſo, though we ſtand upon a Gyant's ſhoulders, and even ſo placed, yet we ſee leſs than he, if we are naturally

turally ſhorter ſighted, or if we do not look as much about us, or if we are dazled with the height, which often happens from weakneſs either of Heart or Brain.

In the growth and ſtature of Souls as well as Bodies, the common productions are of indifferent ſizes, that occaſion no gazing nor no wonder: But there are or have been, ſometimes Dwarfs and ſometimes Gyants in the World, yet it does not follow, that there muſt be ſuch in every Age nor in every Country. This we can no more conclude, than that there never have been any, becauſe there are none now, at leaſt in the compaſs of our preſent Knowledge or Inquiry. As I believe, there may have been Gyants at ſome time, and ſome place or other in the World, of ſuch a ſtature, as may not have been equalled perhaps again, in ſeveral Thouſands of Years, or in any other Parts; ſo there may be Gyants in Wit and Knowledge, of ſo over-grown a ſize, as not to be equalled again in many ſucceſſions of Ages, or any compaſs of Place or Country. Such, I am ſure, *Lucretius* eſteems and deſcribes *Epicurus* to have been,

and to have riſen, like a Prodigy of Invention and Knowledge, ſuch as had not been before nor was like to be again; and I know not, why others of the Ancients, may not be allowed to have been as great in their kinds, and to have built as high, though upon different Scheams or Foundations. Becauſe there is a Stag's-head at *Amboyſe*, of a moſt prodigious ſize, and a large Table at *Memorancy*, cut out of the thickneſs of a Vine-ſtock, is it neceſſary, that there muſt be, every Age, ſuch a Stag in every great Foreſt, or ſuch a Vine in every large Vineyard, or that the Productions of Nature in any kind, muſt be ſtill alike or ſomething near it, becauſe Nature is ſtill the ſame? May there not many circumſtances concur, to one production, that do not to any other, in one or many Ages? In the growth of a Tree, there is the native ſtrength of the ſeed both from the kind, and from the perfection of its ripening, and from the health and vigour of the Plant that bore it. There is the degree of ſtrength and excellence, in that Vein of Earth where it firſt took root; There is a propriety of Soyl, ſuited to the kind

of

of Tree that grows in it; there is a great favour or dis-favour to its growth, from accidents of Water and of Shelter, from the kindneſs or unkindneſs of Seaſons, till it be paſt the need or the danger of them. All theſe, and perhaps many others, joyned with the propitiouſneſs of Clymat, to that ſort of Tree, and the length of Age it ſhall ſtand and grow, may produce an Oak, a Fig, or a Plane-tree, that ſhall deſerve to be renowned in Story, and ſhall not perhaps be parallelled, in other Countries or Times.

May not the ſame have happened in the production, growth, and ſize of Wit and Genius in the World, or in ſome Parts or Ages of it, and from many more circumſtances that contributed towards it, than what may concur to the ſtupendious growth of a Tree or Animal? May there not have been, in *Greece* or *Italy* of old, ſuch prodigies of Invention and Learning in *Philoſophy*, *Mathematicks*, *Phyſick*, *Oratory*, *Poetry*, that none has ever ſince approached them, as well as there were in *Painting*, *Statuary*, *Architecture*, and yet their unparallelled and inimitable excellencies in theſe are undiſputed.

Science and Arts, have run their circles, and had their periods in the ſeveral Parts of the World; They are generally agreed, to have held their courſe from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, to have begun in *Chaldæa* and *Ægypt*, to have been Tranſplanted from thence to *Greece*, from *Greece* to *Rome*, to have ſunk there, and after many Ages, to have revived from thoſe Aſhes, and to have ſprung up again, both in *Italy* and other more *Weſtern* Provinces of *Europe*. When *Chaldæa* and *Ægypt* were Learned and Civil, *Greece* and *Rome* were as rude and barbarous as all *Ægypt* and *Syria* now are, and have been long. When *Greece* and *Rome* were at their heights, in Arts and Science, *Gaul*, *Germany*, *Britain*, were as ignorant and barbarous, as any Parts of *Greece* or *Turkey* can be now.

Theſe and greater changes are made, in the ſeveral Countries of the World, and courſes of time, by the Revolutions of Empire, the Devaſtations of Armies, the Cruelties of Conquering, and the Calamities of enſlaved Nations, by the violent Inundations of Water in ſome Countries, and the Cruel Ravages of Plagues in others: Theſe ſorts of accidents,

cidents, ſometimes lay them ſo waſt, that when they riſe again, 'tis from ſuch low beginnings, that they look like New-Created Regions, or growing out of the Original State of Mankind, and without any Records or Remembrances, beyond certain ſhort periods of Time. Thus, that vaſt Continent of *Norway*, is ſaid to have been, ſo wholly deſolated by a Plague, about Eight or Nine Hundred Years ago, that it was for ſome Ages following, a very Deſart, and ſince all over-grown with Wood. And *Ireland* was ſo ſpoiled and waſted by the Conqueſts of the *Scentes* and *Danes*, that there hardly remains any Story or Tradition, what that Iſland was, how Planted or Governed above Five Hundred Years ago. What changes have been made by Violent Storms, and Inundations of the Sea, in the Maritime Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, is hard to know, or to believe what is told, nor how ignorant they have left us, of all that paſſed there, before a certain and ſhort period of Time.

The Accounts of many other Countries, would perhaps, as hardly and as late, have waded out of the Depths of

of Time, and Gulphs of Ignorance, had it not been for the Aſſiſtance of thoſe two Languages, to which we owe all we have, of Learning or Ancient Records in the World. For whether we have any thing of the Old *Chaldæan*, *Hebrew*, *Arabian*, that is truly Genuine, or more Ancient than the *Auguſtan* Age, I am much in doubt; yet 'tis probable, the vaſt *Alexandrian* Library muſt have chiefly conſiſted of Books compoſed in thoſe Languages, with the *Ægyptian*, *Syrian* and *Æthiooptick*, or at leaſt, Tranſlated out of them by the Care of the *Ægyptian* Kings or Prieſts, as the *Old Teſtament* was, wherein the *Septuagints* employed, left their Name to that Famous Tranſlation.

'Tis very true and juſt, All that is ſaid of the mighty Progreſs, that Learning and Knowledge have made, in theſe *Weſtern* Parts of *Europe*, within theſe hundred and fifty Years; but that does not conclude, it muſt be at a greater Heigth, than it had been in other Countries, where it was growing much longer Periods of Time; it argues more how low it was then amongſt us, rather than how high it is now.

Upon

Upon the Fall of the *Roman* Empire, almoſt all Learning was buried in it's Ruins: The *Northern* Nations that Conquered, or rather overwhelmed it by their Numbers, were too barbarous to preſerve the Remains of Learning or Civility, more carefully than they did thoſe of Statuary or Architecture, which fell before their Brutiſh Rage. The *Saracens* indeed, from their Conqueſts of *Ægypt*, *Syria*, and *Greece*, carried home great Spoils of Learning, as well as other Riches, and gave the Original of all that Knowledge, which flouriſhed for ſome Time, among the *Arabians*, and has ſince been copyed out of many Authors among them, as theirs had been, out of thoſe of the Countries they had ſubdued; nor indeed, do Learning, Civility, Morality, ſeem any where to have made a greater Growth, in ſo ſhort a Time, than in that Empire, nor to have flouriſhed more, than in the Reign of their Great *Almanzor*, under whoſe Victorious Enſigns, *Spain* was Conquered by the *Moors*; but the *Goths*, and all the reſt of thoſe *Scythian* Swarms, that from beyond the *Danube* and the *Elb*, under ſo many ſeveral Names, over-

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run all *Europe*, took very hardly and very late, any Tincture of the Learning and Humanity that had flouriſhed in the ſeveral Regions of it, under the Protection, and by the Example and Inſtructions of the *Romans*, that had ſo long poſſeſſed them: Thoſe *Northern* Nations, were indeed eaſier induced to embrace the Religion of thoſe they had ſubdued, and by their Devotion gave great Authority and Revenues, and thereby Eaſe to the Clergy, both Secular and Regular, through all their Conqueſts. Great Numbers, of the better ſort, among the Oppreſſed Natives, finding this vain among them, and no other way to be ſafe and quiet under ſuch rough Maſters, betook themſelves to the Profeſſion and Aſſemblies of Religious Orders and Fraternities, and among thoſe only were preſerved, all the poor Remainders of Learning, in theſe ſeveral Countries.

But theſe good Men either contented themſelves with their Devotion, or with the Eaſe of quiet Lives, or elſe employed their Thoughts and Studies, to raiſe and maintain the Eſteem and Authority of that Sacred Order, to which they owed the Safety and Repoſe,

poſe, the Wealth and Honour they enjoyed. And in this they ſo well ſucceeded, that the Conquerors were governed by thoſe they had ſubdued, the Greateſt Princes by the Meaneſt Prieſts, and the Victorious *Franks* and *Lombard* Kings, fell at the Feet of the *Roman* Prelates.

Whilſt the Clergy were buſied in theſe Thoughts or Studies, the better ſort among the Laity, were wholly turned to Arms and to Honour, the meaner ſort to Labour or to Spoil; Princes taken up with Wars among themſelves, or in thoſe of the Holy Land, or between the Popes and Emperors, upon Diſputes of the Eccleſiaſtical and Secular Powers, Learning ſo little in uſe among them, that few could write or read, beſides thoſe of the Long Robes. During this Courſe of Time, which laſted many Ages in the *Weſtern* Parts of *Europe*: The *Greek* Tongue was wholly loſt, and the Purity of the *Roman* to that degree that what remained of it, was only a certain Jargon rather than Latin, that paſſed among the *Monks* and *Fryers* who were not at all Learned, and among the Students of the ſeveral Univer-

Univerſities, which ſerved to Carry them to *Rome*, in purſuit of Preferments or Cauſes depending there, and little elſe.

When the *Turks* took *Conſtantinople*, about two hundred Years agoe, and ſoon after poſſeſſed themſelves of all *Greece*, the poor Natives fearing the Tyranny of thoſe cruel Maſters, made their Eſcapes in great Numbers to the Neighbouring Parts of Chriſtendom, ſome by the *Auſtrian* Territories into *Germany*, others by the *Venetian* into *Italy* and *France*; ſeveral that were Learned among theſe *Grecians*, (and brought many Ancient Books with them in that Language) began to teach it in theſe Countries, firſt to gain ſubſiſtance, and afterwards Favour in ſome Princes, or Great Mens Courts, who began to take a Pleaſure or Pride, in countenancing Learned Men: Thus began the Reſtoration of Learning in theſe Parts, with that of the *Greek* Tongue, and ſoon after, *Revchlyn* and *Eraſmus* began that of the purer and ancient Latin. After them, *Buchanan* carried it, I think, to the greateſt Heigth of any of the Moderns before or ſince: The *Monkiſh* Latin upon this Return,

Return, was laughed out of doors, and remains only in the Inns of *Germany* or *Poland*; and with the Reſtitution of theſe two Noble Languages, and the Books remaining of them (which many Princes and Prelates were curious to recover and collect) Learning of all ſorts began to thrive in theſe *Weſtern* Regions, and ſince that time, and in the firſt ſucceeding Century, made perhaps a greater Growth, than in any other that we know of, in ſuch a compaſs of Time, conſidering into what Depths of Ignorance it was ſunk before.

But why from thence ſhould be concluded, That it has out-grown all that was Ancient, I ſee no Reaſon. If a Strong and Vigororus Man, at Thirty Years old, ſhould fall into a Conſumption, and ſo draw on till Fifty, in the extreameſt Weakneſs and Infirmity; after that, ſhould begin to Recover Health till Sixty, ſo as to be again as Strong, as Men uſually are at that Age; It might perhaps truly be ſaid, in that caſe, that he had grown more in Strength, that laſt Ten Years, than any others of his Life, but not that he was grown to more Strength and Vigour,

guor; than he had at Thirty Years old.

But what are the Sciences, wherein we pretend to excel? I know of no New Philoſophers, that have made Entries upon that Noble Stage, for Fifteen Hundred Years paſt, unleſs *Des Cartes* and *Hobbs* ſhould pretend to it, of whom I ſhall make no Critick here, but only ſay, that by what appears of Learned Mens Opinions in this Age, they have by no Means eclypſed the Luſtre of *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Epicurus*, or others of the Ancients. For Grammar or Rhetorick, no Man ever diſputed it with them, nor for Poetry, that ever I heard of, beſides the New *French* Author I have mentioned, and againſt whoſe Opinion there could I think, never have been given ſtronger Evidence, than by his own Poems, printed together with that Treatiſe.

There is nothing New in *Aſtronomy*, to vye with the Ancients, unleſs it be the *Copernican* Syſtem, nor in *Phyſick* unleſs *Harvey's* Circulation of the Blood. But whether either of theſe, be modern diſcoveries, or derived from old Fountains, is diſputed; Nay, it is ſo too, whether they are true or no,

for

for though Reaſon may ſeem to favour them more than the contrary Opinions, yet Senſe can very hardly allow them, and to ſatisfie Mankind, both theſe muſt concur. But if they are true, yet theſe two great diſcoveries have made no change in the concluſions of *Aſtronomy*, nor in the practiſe of Phyſick, and ſo have been of little uſe to the World, though perhaps of much honor to the Authors.

What are become of the Charms of Muſick, by which Men and Beaſts, Fiſhes, Fowls, and Serpents were ſo frequently Enchanted, and their very Natures changed; By which the Paſſions of Men were raiſed to the greateſt heigth and violence, and then as ſuddenly appeaſed, ſo as they might be juſtly ſaid, to be turned into Lyons or Lambs, into Wolves, or into Harts, by the Power and Charms of this admirable Art. 'Tis agreed by the Learned, that the Science of Muſick, ſo admired of the Ancients, is wholly loſt in the World, and that what we have now, is made up out of certain Notes, that fell into the fancy or obſervation, of a poor *Fryar*, in chanting his Mattins. So as thoſe Two Divine Ex-

cellencies of Muſick and Poetry, are grown in a manner, to be little more, but the one Fidling, and the other Rhyming, and are indeed very worthy the ignorance of the Fryer, and the barbarouſneſs of the *Goths* that introduced them among us.

What have we remaining of *Magick*, by which the *Indians*, the *Chaldæans*, the *Ægyptians* were ſo renowned, and by which, effects ſo wonderful and to common Men ſo aſtoniſhing were produced, as made them have recourſe, to Spirits or Supernatural Powers for ſome account of their ſtrange Operations? By *Magick*, I mean ſome excelling knowledge of Nature, and the various Powers and Qualities, in it's ſeveral productions, and the application of certain Agents, to certain Patients, which by Force of ſome peculiar Qualities, produce effects very different, from what fall under vulgar Obſervation or Comprehenſion. Theſe are, by ignorant People called *Magick* and *Conjuring*, and ſuch like Terms, and an Account of them much about as wiſe, is given by the common Learned, from *Sympathys*, *Antipathys*, *Idioſyncraſys*, *Taliſmans*, and ſome ſcraps

or

or Terms, left us by the *Ægyptians* or *Grecians*, of the Antient Magick, but the Science ſeems, with ſeveral others, to be wholly loſt.

What Traces have we left of that admirable Science or Skill in Architecture, by which ſuch ſtupendious Fabricks have been raiſed of old, and ſo many of the Wonders of the World been produced, and which are ſo little approached by our Modern Atchievements of this ſort, that they hardly fall within our Imagination? Not to mention the Walls and Palace of *Babylon*, the Pyramids of *Ægypt*, the Tomb of *Mauſolus*, or *Colloſſe* of *Rhodes*, the Temples and Palaces of *Greece* and *Rome*: What can be more admirable in this kind, than the *Roman* Theatres, their Aqueducts, and their Bridges, among which, that of *Trajan* over the *Danube*, ſeems to have been the laſt Flight of the Ancient Architecture. The ſtupendious Effects of this Science, ſufficiently evince, at what Heights the Mathematicks were among the Antients; but if this be not enough, whoever would be ſatisfied, need go no further than the Siege of *Syracuſe*, and that mighty Defence made againſt the

Roman Power, more by the wonderful Science and Arts of *Archimedes*, and almoſt Magical Force of his Engines, than by all the Strength of the City, or Number and Bravery of the Inhabitants.

The greateſt Invention that I know of in later Ages, has been that of the Load-Stone, and conſequently, the greateſt Improvement has been made in the Art of Navigation; yet there muſt be allowed, to have been ſomething ſtupendious in the Numbers, and in the Built of their Ships, and Gallies of old; and the Skill of Pilots, from the Obſervation of the Stars in the more ſerene Climates, may be judged, by the Navigations ſo celebrated in Story, of the *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians*, not to mention other Nations. However, 'tis to this we owe the Diſcovery and Commerce of ſo many vaſt Countries, which were very little, if at all, known to the Antients, and the experimental Proof of this Terreſtrial Globe, which was before only Speculation, but has ſince been ſurrounded by the Fortune and Boldneſs of ſeveral Navigators. From this great, though fortuitous Invention,

tion, and the Conſequence thereof, it muſt be allowed, that Geography is mightily advanced in theſe latter Ages. The Vaſt Continents of *China*, the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, the long Extent and Coaſts of *Africa*, with the numberleſs Iſlands belonging to them, have been hereby introduced into our Acquaintance, and our Maps, and great Increaſes of Wealth and Luxury, but none of Knowledge brought among us, further than the Extent and Scituation of Country, the Cuſtoms and Manners of ſo many original Nations, which we call Barbarous, and I am ſure, have treated them, as if we hardly eſteemed them to be a Part of Mankind. I do not doubt, but many Great and more Noble Uſes would have been made of ſuch Conqueſts or Diſcoveries, if they had fallen to the ſhare of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in thoſe Ages, when Knowledge and Fame were in as great Requeſt, as endleſs Gains and Wealth are among us now; and how much greater Diſcoveries might have been made by ſuch Spirits as theirs, is hard to gueſs. I am ſure, ours though great, yet look very imperfect, as to what the Face of this

Terreſtrial Globe would probably appear, if they had been purſued as far, as we might juſtly have expected from the Progreſſes of Navigation, ſince the Uſe of the Compaſs, which ſeems to have been long at a ſtand? How little has been performed, of what has been ſo often, and ſo confidently promiſed, of a *North-Weſt* Paſſage to the *Eaſt* of *Tartary*, and *North* of *China*? How little do we know of the Lands on that ſide of the *Magellan Straits*, that lye towards the *South Pole*, which may be vaſt Iſlands or Continents, for ought any can yet aver, though that Paſſage was ſo long ſince found out? Whether *Japan*, be Iſland or Continent, with ſome Parts of *Tartary*, on the *North* ſide, is not certainly agreed. The Lands of *Yedſo*, upon the *North-Eaſt* Continent, have been no more than Coaſted, and whether they may not joyn to the *Northern* Continent of *America*, is by ſome doubted.

But the Defect or Negligence, ſeems yet to have been greater towards the *South*, where we know little beyond Thirty Five Degrees, and that only, by the Neceſſity of doubling the Cape of Good Hope, in our *Eaſt-India* Voi-

ages;

ages; yet a Continent has been long ſince found out, within Fifteen Degrees to *South*, and about the Length of *Java*, which is Marqued by the Name of *New Holland* in the Maps, and to what Extent, none knows, either to the *South*, the *Eaſt*, or the *Weſt*; yet the Learned have been of Opinion, That there muſt be a Ballance of Earth, on that ſide of the Line, in ſome Proportion to what there is on the other, and that it cannot be all *Sea*, from Thirty Degrees to the *South-Pole*, ſince we have found Land to above Sixty Five Degrees towards the *North*. But our Navigators that way, have been confined to the Roads of Trade, and our Diſcoveries bounded, by what we can manage to a certain Degree of Gain. And I have heard it ſaid among the *Dutch*, that their *Eaſt-India*-Company have long ſince forbidden, and under the greateſt Penalties, any further Attempts of diſcovering that Continent, having already more Trade in thoſe Parts, than they can turn to Account, and fearing ſome more Populous Nation of *Europe*, might make great Eſtabliſhments of Trade, in ſome of thoſe un-

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known Regions which might ruin or impair what they have already in the *Indies*.

Thus we are lame ſtill in Geography it ſelf, which we might have exexpected to run up, to ſo much greater Perfection, by the Uſe of the Compaſs, and it ſeems to have been little advanced theſe laſt Hundred Years. So far have we been from improving upon thoſe Advantages we have received, from the Knowledge of the Ancients, that ſince the late Reſtoration of Learning and Arts among us, our firſt Flights ſeem to have been the higheſt, and a ſudden Damp to have fallen upon our Wings, which has hindered us, from riſing above certain Heights. The Arts of Painting and Statuary, began to revive with Learning in *Europe*, and make a great, but ſhort Flight; ſo for as theſe laſt Hundred Years, we have not had One Maſter in either of them, who deſerved a Rank with thoſe that flouriſhed in that ſhort Period, after they began among us.

It were too great a Mortification to think, That the ſame Fate has happened to us, even in our Modern Learning,

Learning, as if the Growth of that, as well as of Natural Bodies, had ſome ſhort Periods, beyond which it could not reach, and after which, it muſt begin to decay. It falls in one Country or one Age, and riſes again in others, but never beyond a certain Pitch. One man, or one Country, at a certain Time runs a great Length in ſome certain Kinds of Knowledge, but loſe as much Ground in others, that were perhaps as uſeful and as valuable. There is a certain Degree of Capacity in the greateſt Veſſel, and when 'tis full, if you pour in ſtill, it muſt run out ſome way or other, and the more it runs out on one ſide, the leſs runs out at the other. So the greateſt Memory after a certain Degree, as it learns or retains more of ſome Things or Words, loſes and forgets as much of others. The largeſt and deepeſt Reach of Thought, the more it purſues ſome certain Subjects, the more it neglects others.

Beſides, few Men or none excel in all Faculties of Mind. A great Memory may fail of Invention, both may want Judgment to Digeſt or Apply, what they Remember or Invent. Great

Courage

Courage may want Caution, great Prudence may want Vigour, yet all are neceſſary to make a great Commander. But how can a Man hope, to excel in all qualities, when ſome are produced by the heat, others by the coldneſs of Brain and Temper? The abilities of Man muſt fall ſhort on one ſide or other, like too ſcanty a Blanket when you are a Bed, if you pull it upon your Shoulders you leave your Feet bare, if you thruſt it down upon your Feet your Shoulders are uncovered.

But what would we have, unleſs it be other Natures and Beings than God Almighty has given us? The height of our Statures may be ſix or ſeven Foot, and we would have it ſixteen; the length of our Age may reach to an hundred Years, and we would have it a thouſand. We are born to grovel upon the Earth, and we would fain ſoar up to the Skies. We cannot comprehend the growth of a Kernel or Seed, the Frame of an *Ant* or *Bee*, we are amazed at the Wiſdom of the one, and Induſtry of the other, and yet we will know the Subſtance, the Figure, the Courſes, the Influences, of all

all thoſe Glorious Cœleſtial Bodies, and the end for which they were made; we pretend to give a clear Account, how Thunder and Lightning (that great Artillery of God Almighty) is produced, and we cannot comprehend how the Voice of a Man is Framed, that poor little noiſe we make every time we ſpeak. The motion of the Sun, is plain and evident to ſome Aſtronomers, and of the Earth to others, yet we none of us know, which of them moves, and meet with many ſeeming impoſſibilities in both, and beyond the fathom, of human reaſon or comprehenſion. Nay we do not ſo much as know what motion is, nor how a Stone moves from our Hand, when we throw it croſs the Street. Of all theſe, that moſt Antient and Divine Writer, gives the beſt Account in that ſhort Satyr. *Vain Man would fain be wiſe, when he is born like a wild Aſſes Colt.*

But God be thanked, his Pride is greater than his Ignorance, and what he wants in Knowledge he ſupplies by Sufficiency. When he has looked about him as far as he can, he concludes there is no more to be ſeen; when he is at the

the end of his Line he is at the bottom of the Ocean; when he has ſhot his beſt, he is ſure, none ever did nor ever can ſhoot better or beyond it. His own Reaſon is the certain meaſure of Truth, his own Knowledg, of what is poſſible in Nature, though his Mind and his Thoughts change every ſeven Years, as well as his Strength and his Features; nay though his Opinions change every Week or every Day, yet he is ſure, or at leaſt confident, that his preſent Thoughts and Concluſions are juſt and true and cannot be deceived; And among all the Miſeries, to which Mankind is born and ſubjected, in the whole Courſe of his Life, he has this one Felicity to Comfort and Support him, that in all ages, in all things, every man is always in the right. A Boy of fifteen is wiſer than his Father at forty, the meaneſt Subject than his Prince or Governors, and the modern Scholars, becauſe they have for an Hundred Years paſt learned their Leſſon pretty well, are much more knowing than the Ancients their Maſters.

But let it be ſo, and proved by good reaſons, Is it ſo by Experience too?

too? Have the Studies, the Writings, the Productions of *Greſham* Colledge, or the late Academies of *Paris*, outſhined or eclypſed the Lycæum of *Plato*, the Academy of *Ariſtotle*, the Stoa of *Zeno*, the Garden of *Epicurus*? Has *Hervy* out-done *Hippocrates*, or *Wilkins*, *Archimedes*? Are *D'avila's* and *Strada's* Hiſtories beyond thoſe of *Herodotus* and *Livy*? Are *Sleyden's* Commentaries beyond thoſe of *Cæſar*? The Flights of *Boileau* above thoſe of *Virgil*? If all this muſt be allowed, I will then yield *Gondibert* to have excelled *Homer*, as it pretended, and the modern *French* Poetry, all that of the Ancients. And yet I think, it may be as reaſonably ſaid, That the Plays in *Moor-Fields* are beyond the *Olympick* Games; *A Welſh* or *Iriſh* Harp, excels thoſe of *Orpheus* and *Arion*; The Pyramid in *London*, thoſe of *Memphis*; and the *French* Conqueſts in *Flanders* are greater than thoſe of *Alexander* and *Cæſar*, as their Operaes and Panegyricks would make us believe.

But the Conſideration of Poetry ought to be a Subject by it ſelf: For the Books we have in Proſe, Do any of

of the modern we converſe with, appear of ſuch a Spirit and Force, as if they would live longer than the Ancient have done? If our Wit and Eloquence, our Knowledge or Inventions would deſerve it, yet our Languages would not, there is no hope of their laſting long, nor of any thing in them, they change every Hundred Years ſo as to be hardly known for the ſame, or any thing of the former Styles to be endured by the later, ſo as they can no more laſt like the Ancients, than excellent Carvings in Wood like thoſe in Marble or Braſs.

The three modern Tongues moſt eſteemed, are *Italian*, *Spaniſh* and *French*, all imperfect Dialects of the Noble *Roman*; firſt mingled and corrupted, with the harſh Words and Terminations, of thoſe many different and barbarous Nations, by whoſe Invaſions and Excurſions, the *Roman* Empire was long infeſted: They were afterwards made up into theſe ſeveral Languages, by long and popular uſe, out of thoſe ruins and corruptions of *Latin*, and the prevailing Language of thoſe Nations, to which, theſe ſeveral Provinces came in time to be moſt and longeſt ſub-

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jected (as the *Goths* and *Moors* in *Spain*, the *Goths* and *Lombards* in *Italy*, the *Franks* in *Gaul*) beſides a mingle of thoſe Tongues, which were Original to *Gaul* and to *Spain*, before the *Roman* Conqueſts and Eſtabliſhments there. Of theſe, there may be ſome remainders in *Biſcay* or the *Aſturias*, but I doubt, whether there be any of the old *Gallick* in *France*, the ſubjection there, having been more Univerſal, both to the *Romans* and *Franks*. But I do not find, the Mountainous Parts on the *North* of *Spain*, were ever wholly Subdued or formerly Governed, either by the *Romans*, *Goths* or *Saracens*, no more than *Wales* by *Romans*, *Saxons*, or *Normans*, after their Conqueſts in our Iſlands, which has preſerved the antient *Biſcayn* and *Britiſh* more entire, than any Native Tongue of other Provinces, where the *Roman* and *Gothick* or *Northern* Conqueſts reached, and were for any time Eſtabliſhed.

'Tis eaſie to imagine, how imperfect Copies theſe modern Languages, thus compoſed, muſt needs be, of ſo excellent an Original, being patcht up, out of the Conceptions as well as Sounds, of ſuch barbarous or enſlaved People.

People. Whereas the *Latin*, was framed or cultivated, by the thoughts and uſes, of the Nobleſt Nation that appears upon any Record of Story, and enriched only by the Spoils of *Greece*, which alone could pretend to conteſt it with them. 'Tis obvious enough, what rapport there is, and muſt ever be, between the Thoughts and Words, the Conceptions and Languages of every Country, and how great a difference this muſt make in the Compariſon and Excellence of Books, and how eaſie and juſt a preference it muſt decree, to thoſe of the *Greek* and *Latin*, before any of the modern Languages.

It may perhaps, be further affirmed, in Favour of the Ancients, that the oldeſt Books we have, are ſtill in their kind the beſt. The two moſt ancient, that I know of in Proſe, among thoſe we call prophane Authors, are *Æſop*'s Fables, and *Phalaris*'s Epiſtles, both living near the ſame time, which was, that of *Cyrus* and *Pythagoras*. As the firſt has been agreed by all Ages ſince, for the greateſt Maſter in his kind, and all others of that ſort, have been but imitations

ons of his Original; ſo I think the Epiſtles of *Phalaris*, to have more Race, more Spirit, more Force of Wit and Genius than any others I have ever ſeen, either antient or modern. I know ſeveral Learned Men (or that uſually paſs for ſuch, under the Name of Criticks) have not eſteemed them Genuine, and *Politian* with ſome others, have attributed them to *Lucian*: But I think, he muſt have little skill in Painting, that cannot find out this to be an Original; ſuch diverſity of Paſſions, upon ſuch variety of Actions, and Paſſages of Life and Government, ſuch Freedom of Thought, ſuch Boldneſs of Expreſſion, ſuch Bounty to his Friends, ſuch Scorn of his Enemies, ſuch Honor of Learned Men, ſuch Eſteem of Good, ſuch Knowledg of Life, ſuch Contempt of Death, with ſuch Fierceneſs of Nature and Cruelty of Revenge could never be repreſented, but by him that poſſeſſed them; and I eſteem *Lucian* to have been no more Capable of Writing, than of Acting what *Phalaris* did. In all one Writ, you find the Scholar or the Sophiſt, and in all the other, the Tyrant and the Commander.

The next to theſe in Time, are *Herodotus*, *Thucidides*, *Hypocrates*, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, and *Ariſtotle*, of whom I ſhall ſay no more, than what I think is allowed by all, that they are in their ſeveral kinds, inimitable. So are *Ceſar*, *Saluſt*, and *Cicero*, in theirs, who are the Antienteſt of the Latin, (I ſpeak ſtill of Proſe) unleſs it be ſome little of old *Cato*, upon Ruſtick Affairs.

The Height and Purity of the *Roman* Style, as it began towards the Time of *Lucretius*, which was about that of the *Jugurthin* War, ſo it ended about that of *Tyberius*; and the laſt ſtrain of it, ſeems to have been *Velleius Paterculus*. The Purity of the *Greek* laſted a great deal longer, and muſt be allowed till *Trajan*'s Time, when *Plutarch* wrote, Whoſe Greek is much more eſtimable, than the Latin of *Tacitus* his Contemporary. After this laſt, I know none that deſerves the Name of *Latin*, in compariſon of what went before them, eſpecially in the *Auguſtan* Age; If any, 'tis the little Treatiſe of *Minutius Felix*. All Latin Books that we have

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till the end of *Trajan*, and all Greek till the end of *Marcus Antoninus*, have a true and very eſteemable value. All written ſince that time, ſeem to me, to have little more than what comes from the Relation of Events, we are glad to know, or the Controverſy of Opinions in Religion or Laws, wherein the buſie World has been ſo much imployed.

The great Wits among the moderns have been, in my Opinion, and in their ſeveral kinds, of the *Italians*, *Boccace*, *Machiavel*, and *Padre Paolo*; Among the *Spaniards*, *Cervantes* (that writ *Don Quixot*) and *Guevara*; Among the *French*, *Rablais*, and *Montagne*; Among the *Engliſh*, Sir *Philip Sydney*, *Bacon* and *Selden*: I mention nothing of what is written upon the Subject of Divinity, wherein the *Spaniſh* and *Engliſh* Pens, have been moſt Converſant and moſt Excelled. The modern *French*, are *Voiture*, *Rochfaucalt*'s Memoirs, *Buſſy*'s *Amours de Gaul*, with ſeveral other little Relations or Memoirs that have run this Age, which are very Pleaſant and Entertaining, and ſeem to have Refined the *French* Language to a degree,

that cannot be well exceeded. I doubt it may have happened there, as it does in all Works, that the more they are filed and poliſhed, the leſs they have of weight and of ſtrength; and as that Language, has much more fineneſs and ſmoothneſs at this time, ſo I take it, to have had much more force, ſpirit and compaſs, in *Montagne*'s Age.

Since thoſe accidents, which contributed to the Reſtoration of Learning, almoſt extinguiſhed in the *Weſtern* Parts of *Europe*, have been obſerved, it will be juſt to mention ſome, that may have hindred the advancement of it, in proportion to what might have been expected, from the mighty growth and Progreſs made in the firſt Age after its Recovery. One great reaſon may have been, that very ſoon after the entry of Learning, upon the Scene of Chriſtendom, another was made, by many of the New-Learned Men, into the inquiries and conteſts about Matters of Religion, the Manners and Maxims and Inſtitutions introduced by the Clergy, for ſeven or eight Centuries paſt, The Authority

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of Scripture and Tradition, Of Popes and of Councils, Of the antient Fathers and of the later School-Men and Caſuiſts, Of Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Power. The humour of ravelling into all theſe myſtical or entangled Matters, mingling with the Intereſts and Paſſions, of Princes and of Parties, and thereby heightened or inflamed, produced infinite Diſputes, raiſed violent Heats throughout all Parts of Chriſtendom, and ſoon ended, in many Defections or Reformations from the *Roman* Church, and in ſeveral New Inſtitutions, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, in diverſe Countries, which have been ſince Rooted and Eſtabliſhed, in almoſt all the *North-Weſt* Parts. The endleſs Diſputes and litigious Quarrels, upon all theſe Subjects, favoured and encouraged, by the Intereſts of the ſeveral Princes engaged in them, either took up wholly, or generally employed, the Thoughts, the Studies, the Applications, the Endeavours of all or moſt, of the fineſt Wits, the deepeſt Scholars, and the moſt Learned Writers, that the Age produced. Many excellent Spirits, and the moſt pene-

trating Genys, that might have made admirable Progreſſes and Advances, in many other Sciences, were ſunk and overwhelmed in the abyſs of Diſputes, about Matters of Religion, without ever turning their Looks or Thoughts, any other way. To theſe Diſputes of the Pen, ſucceeded thoſe of the Sword, and the ambition of Great Princes and Miniſters, mingled with the Zeal, or covered with the Pretences of Religion, has for a Hundred Years paſt, infeſted Chriſtendom, with almoſt a perpetual Courſe or Succeſſion, either of Civil or of Foreign Wars; the noiſe and diſorders whereof, have been ever the moſt capital Enemies of the *Muſes*, who are ſeated by the antient Fables, upon the top of *Parnaſſus*, that is, in a place of ſafety and of quiet, from the reach of all noiſes and diſturbances of the Regions below.

Another circumſtance, that may have hindered the advancement of Learning, has been a want or decay of Favour in Great Kings and Princes, to encourage or applaud it. Upon the firſt return or recovery of this fair Stranger among us, all were fond

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of ſeeing her, apt to applaud her, ſhe was lodged in Palaces inſtead of Cells, and the greateſt Kings and Princes of the Age, took either a pleaſure in courting her, or a vanity in admiring her, and in favouring all her Train. The Courts of *Italy* and *Germany*, of *England*, of *France*, of *Popes* and of *Emperors*, thought themſelves Honoured and Adorned, by the Number and Qualities of Learned Men, and by all the improvements of Sciences and Arts, wherein they excelled. They were invited from all Parts, for the Uſe and Entertainment of Kings, for the Education and Inſtruction of young Princes, for Advice and Aſſiſtance to the greateſt Miniſters; and in ſhort, the Favour of Learning was the humor and mode of the Age. *Francis* the Firſt, *Charles* the Fifth, and *Henry* the Eighth (thoſe three great Rivals) agreed in this, though in nothing elſe. Many Nobles purſued this Vein with great Application and Succeſs; among whom, *Picus de Mirandula*, a Sovereign Prince in *Italy*, might have proved a Prodigy of Learning, if his Studies and Life had laſted as long, as thoſe of

the Antients: For I think all of them that writ much of what we have now remaining, lived old, whereas he died about Three and Thirty, and left the World in admiration, of ſo much knowledge in ſo much youth. Since thoſe Reigns I have not obſerved in our modern Story, any Great Princes much Celebrated, for their Favour of Learning, further than to ſerve their turns, to juſtifie their Pretenſions and Quarrels, or flatter their Succeſſes. The Honour of Princes has of late ſtruck Sale to their Intereſt, whereas of old, their Intereſts, Greatneſs, and Conqueſts, were all Dedicated to their Glory and Fame.

How much the Studies and Labours of Learned Men, muſt have been damped, for want of this influence and kind aſpect of Princes, may be beſt conjectured, from what happened on the contrary, about the *Auguſtan* Age, when the Learning of *Rome* was at its height, and perhaps owed it in ſome Degree, to the Bounty and Patronage of that Emperor, and *Mecœnas* his Favourite, as well as to the Felicity of the Empire, and Tranquility of the Age.

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The humor of Avarice and greedineſs of Wealth, have been ever, and in all Countries, where Silver and Gold have been in Price, and of currant uſe; But if it be true in particular Men, that as Riches encreaſe the deſires of them do ſo too, May it not be true, of the general Vein and Humor of Ages? May they not have turned more, to this purſuit of inſatiable gains, ſince the Diſcoveries and Plantations of the *Weſt-Indies*, and thoſe vaſt Treaſures that have flowed in to theſe *Weſtern* Parts of *Europe* almoſt every Year, and with ſuch mighty Tides for ſo long a courſe of time? Where few are rich, few care for it, where many are ſo many deſire it, and moſt in time, begin to think it neceſſary. Where this Opinion grows general in a Country, the Temples of Honor are ſoon pulled down, and all Mens Sacrifices are made, to thoſe of Fortune. The Souldier as well as the Merchant, the Scholar as well as the Plough-man, the Divine and the States-man, as well as the Lawyer and Phyſician.

Now I think that nothing is more evident in the World, than that Honor

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is a much ſtronger Principle, both of Action and Invention, than Gain can ever be. That all the Great and Noble Productions of Wit and of Courage, have been inſpired and exalted, by that alone. That the charming Flights and Labors of Poets, the deep Speculations and Studies of Philoſophers, the Conqueſts of Emperors and Atchievements of Heroes, have all flowed from this one Source of Honor and Fame. The laſt Farewel that *Horace* takes of his Lyrick Poems, *Epicurus* of his Inventions in Philoſophy, *Auguſtus* of his Empire and Government, are all of the ſame ſtrain; and as their Lives were entertained, ſo their Age was relieved, and their Deaths ſoftned, by the proſpect of lying down upon upon the Bed of Fame.

Avarice is on the other ſide, of all Paſſions the moſt ſordid, the moſt clogged and covered with dirt and with droſs, ſo that it cannot raiſe its Wings, beyond the ſmell of the Earth: 'Tis the Pay of common Souldiers, as Honor is of Commanders, and yet among thoſe themſelves, none ever went ſo far, upon the hopes of prey

prey or of ſpoils, as thoſe that have been ſpirited by Honor or Religion. 'Tis no wonder then, that Learning has been ſo little advanced ſince it grew to be mercenary, and the Progreſs of it has been fettered by the cares of the World, and diſturbed by the deſires of being Rich, or the fears of being Poor; from all which, the antient *Philoſophers*, the *Brachmans* of *India*, the *Chaldæan Magi*, and *Ægyptian* Prieſts were diſentangled and free.

But the laſt maim given to Learning has been by the ſcorn of Pedantry, which the ſhallow, the ſuperficial, and the ſufficient among Scholars, firſt drew upon themſelves, and very juſtly, by pretending to more than they had, or to more eſteem, than what they had could deſerve; by broaching it in all places, at all times, upon all occaſions; and by living ſo much among themſelves, or in their Cloſets and Cells, as to make them unfit for all other buſineſs, and ridiculous in all other Converſations. As an infection that riſes in a Town, firſt falls upon Children, or weak Conſtitutions

tions, or thoſe that are ſubject to other Diſeaſes, but ſpreading further by degrees, ſeizes upon the moſt healthy, vigorous, and ſtrong; And when the Contagion grows very general, all the Neighbors avoid coming into the Town, or are afraid of thoſe that are well among them, as much as of thoſe that are ſick. Juſt ſo it fared in the Common-wealth of Learning, ſome poor weak Conſtitutions were firſt infected with Pedantry, the Contagion ſpread in time upon ſome that were ſtronger, Foreigners that heard there was a Plague in the Country, grew afraid to come there, and avoided the commerce of the ſound, as well as of the diſeaſed. This diſlike or apprehenſion turned, like all fear, to hatred, and hatred to ſcorn. The reſt of the Neighbours began firſt to rail at Pedants, then to ridicule them; the Learned began to fear the ſame Fate, and that the Pidgeons ſhould be taken for Daws, becauſe they were all in a Flock: And becauſe the pooreſt and meaneſt of the Company were proud, the beſt and the richeſt, began to be aſhamed.

An Ingenious *Spaniard* at *Bruſſels*, would needs have it, that the Hiſtory of *Don Quixot* had ruined the *Spaniſh* Monarchy; For before that time, Love and Valour, were all Romance among them, every young Cavalier that entred the Scene, Dedicated the Services of his Life, to his Honor firſt, and then to his Miſtreſs. They Lived and Dyed in this Romantick Vein, and the old Duke of *Alva*, in his laſt *Portugal* expedition, had a young Miſtreſs, to whom, the Glory of that Atchievment was Devoted, by which he hoped to value himſelf inſtead of thoſe qualities he had loſt with his youth. After *Don Quixot* appeared, and with that inimitable Wit and Humor, turned all this Romantick Honor and Love into Ridicule, the *Spaniards*, he ſaid, began to grow aſhamed of both, and to laugh at Fighting and Loving; or at leaſt otherwiſe, than to purſue their Fortune, or ſatisfy their Luſt, and the conſequences of this, both upon their Bodies and their Minds; This the *Spaniard* would needs have paſs, for a great Cauſe of the ruin of *Spain*, or of its Greatneſs and Power.

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Whatever effect, the Ridicule of Knight-Errantry, might have had upon that Monarchy, I believe, that of Pedantry, has had a very ill one, upon the Common-wealth of Learning; and I wiſh, the Vein of Ridiculing all that is ſerious and good, all Honor and Virtue, as well as Learning and Piety, may have no worſe effects on any other State: 'Tis the Itch of our Age and Clymat, and has over-run both the Court and the Stage, enters a Houſe of Lords and Commons, as boldly as a *Coffee-houſe*, Debates of Council as well as Private Converſation; and I have known in my Life, more than one or two Miniſters of State, that would rather have ſaid a Witty thing, than done a Wiſe one, and made the Company Laugh rather than the Kingdom Rejoyce. But this is enough to excuſe the imperfections of Learning in our Age, and to cenſure the ſufficiency of ſome of the Learned; and this ſmall Piece of Juſtice I have done the Antients, will not I hope, be taken any more than 'tis meant, for any injury to the Moderns.

I ſhall Conclude with a Saying of *Alphonſus* (Surnamed the Wiſe) King of *Aragon*;

That among ſo many things as are by Men poſſeſſed or purſued in the Courſe of their Lives, all the reſt are but Bawbles, Beſides Old Wood to Burn, Old Wine to Drink, Old Friends to Converſe with, and Old Books to Read.

ESSAY

ESSAY II.

Upon the Gardens of Epicurus, *or of Gardening in the Year* 1685.

THE ſame Faculty of Reaſon, which gives Mankind the great Advantage and Prerogative over the reſt of the Creation, ſeems to make the greateſt Default of Humane Nature; and ſubjects it to more Troubles, Miſeries, or at leaſt Diſquiets of Life, than any of its Fellow Creatures: 'Tis this furniſhes us with ſuch variety of Paſſions, and conſequently of Wants and Deſires, that none other feels; and theſe followed by infinite Deſigns and endleſs Purſuits, and improved by that reſtleſneſs of thought, which is natural to moſt Men, give him a condition of Life ſuitable to that of his Birth; ſo that as he alone is born crying, he lives complaining, and dies diſappointed.

Since we cannot eſcape the purſuit

of Paſſions, and perplexity of Thoughts, which our Reaſon furniſhes us, there is no way left, but to endeavour all we can, either to ſubdue or to divert them. This laſt is the common buſineſs of common Men, who ſeek it by all ſorts of Sports, Pleaſures, Play, or Buſineſs. But becauſe the two firſt are of ſhort continuance, ſoon ending with wearineſs, or decay of Vigour and Appetite, the return whereof muſt be attended, before the others can be renewed; and becauſe Play grows dull, if it be not enlivened with the Hopes of Gain, the general Diverſion of Mankind ſeems to be Buſineſs, or the purſuit of Riches in one kind or other, which is an amuſement, that has this one advantage above all others, that it laſts thoſe Men who engage in it, to the very ends of their Lives; none ever growing too old for the Thoughts and Deſires of increaſing his Wealth and Fortunes, either for himſelf, his Friends, or his Poſterity.

In the firſt and moſt ſimple Ages of each Country, the Conditions and Lives of Men ſeem to have been very near of Kin with the reſt of the Creatures; they lived by the Hour, or by the Day, and

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ſatisfied their Appetite with what they could get, from the Herbs, the Fruits, the Springs they met with, when they were hungry or dry; then, with what Fiſh, Fowl or Beaſts they could kill, by Swiftneſs or Strength, by Craft or Contrivance, by their Hands or ſuch Inſtruments as Wit helped, or Neceſſity forced them to invent. When a Man had got enough for the day, he laid up the reſt for the morrow, and ſpent one day in labour, that he might paſs the other at eaſe; and lured on by the Pleaſure of this Bait, when he was in Vigour, and His Game fortunate, he would provide for as many days as he could, both for himſelf and his Children, that were too young to ſeek out for themſelves. Then he caſt about, how by ſowing of Grain, and by Paſture of the tamer Cattle, to provide for the whole year. After this, dividing the Lands neceſſary for theſe Uſes, firſt among Children, and then among Servants, he reſerved to himſelf a Proportion of their Gain, either in the native Stock, or ſomething equivalent, which brought in the uſe of Mony; and where this once came in, none was to be ſatisfied, without having enough for himſelf and his Family, and

all His and their Posterity for ever; so that I know a certain Lord who professes to value no Lease though for an hundred or a thousand years, nor any Estate or Possession of Land that is not for ever and ever.

From such small Beginnings have grown such vast and extravagant Designs of poor mortal Men: Yet none could ever answer the naked Indian, Why one Man should take pains, and run Hazards by Sea and Land all his Life, that his Children might be safe and lazy all theirs: And the Precept of taking no care for to morrow, though never minded as impracticable in the World, seems but to reduce Mankind to their natural and original Condition of Life. However by these ways and degrees the endless increase of Riches, seems to be grown the perpetual and general amusement or business of Mankind.

Some few in each Country make those higher Flights after Honour and Power, and to these ends sacrifice their Riches, their Labour, their Thought, and their Lives; and nothing diverts nor busies Men more, than these pursuits, which are usually covered with the Pretences,

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of ſerving a Mans Country, and of Publick Good. But the true Service of the Publick is a buſineſs of ſo much Labour and ſo much Care, that though a good and wiſe Man may not refuſe it, if he be called to it by his Prince or his Country, and thinks he can be of more than vulgar uſe, yet he will ſeldom or never ſeek it, but leaves it commonly to Men, who under the diſguiſe of Publick Good, purſue their own deſigns of Wealth, Power, and ſuch Baſtard Honours as uſually attend them, not that which is the true and only true Reward of Vertue.

The purſuits of Ambition, though not ſo general, yet are as endleſs as thoſe of Riches, and as extravagant; ſince none ever yet thought he had Power or Empire enough: And what Prince ſoever ſeems to be ſo great, as to live and reign without any further deſires or fears, falls into the Life of a private Man, and enjoys but thoſe Pleaſures and Entertainments, which a great many ſeveral Degrees of private Fortune will allow, and as much as Humane Nature is capable of enjoying.

The Pleaſures of the Senſes grow a little more choice and refined, thoſe of

Imagination are turned upon embeliſhing the Scenes He chooſes to live in; Eaſe, Conveniency, Elegancy, Magnificence, are ſought in Building firſt, and then in furniſhing Houſes or Palaces: The admirable imitations of Nature are introduced by Pictures, Statues, Tapeſtry, and other ſuch Atchievements of Arts. And the moſt exquiſite delights of Senſe are purſued, in the Contrivance and Plantations of Gardens, which, with Fruits, Flowers, Shades, Fountains, and the Muſick of Birds that frequent ſuch happy places, ſeem to furniſh all the pleaſures of the ſeveral Senſes, and with the greateſt, or at leaſt the moſt natural Perfections.

Thus the firſt Race of *Aſſyrian* Kings, after the Conqueſt of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, paſſed their Lives, till their Empire fell to the *Medes*. Thus the *Caliphs* of *Egypt*, till depoſed by their *Mamalukes*. Thus paſſed the latter parts of thoſe great Lives of *Scipio*, *Lucullus*, *Auguſtus*, *Dioclesian*. Thus turned the great Thoughts of *Henry* the Second of *France*, after the end of his Wars with *Spain*. Thus the preſent King of *Morocco*, after having ſubdued all his Competitors, paſſes His Life in a Country Villa,

Villa, gives Audience in a Grove of Orange-trees planted among purling Streams. And thus the King of *France*, after all the Succeſſes of His Counſels or Arms, and in the mighty Elevation of His preſent Greatneſs and Power, when He gives Himſelf leaſure from ſuch Deſigns or Purſuits, paſſes the ſofter and eaſier parts of His time in Country Houſes and Gardens, in building, planting or adorning the Scenes, or in the common Sports and Entertainments of ſuch kind of Lives. And thoſe mighty Emperors, who contented not themſelves with theſe Pleaſures of common Humanity, fell into the Frantick or the Extravagant; they pretended to be Gods, or turned to be Devils, as *Caligula* and *Nero*, and too many others, known enough in Story.

Whilſt Mankind is thus generally buſied or amuſed, that part of them, who have had either the Juſtice or the Luck, to paſs in common Opinion, for the wiſeſt and beſt part among them, have followed another and very different Sent; and inſtead of the common deſigns of ſatisfying their Appetites and their Paſſions, and making endleſs Pro-

viſions for both, they have choſen what they thought a nearer and a ſurer way to the eaſe and felicity of Life, by endeavouring to ſubdue, or at leaſt to temper their Paſſions, and reduce their Appetites to what Nature ſeems only to ask and to need. And this deſign ſeems to have brought Philoſophy into the World, at leaſt that which is termed Moral, and appears to have an end, not only deſirable by every Man, which is the Eaſe and Happineſs of Life, but alſo in ſome degree ſuitable to the force and reach of humane Nature: For as to that part of Philoſophy, which is called Natural, I know no end it can have, but that, of either buſying a Man's Brains to no purpoſe, or ſatisfying the Vanity, ſo natural to moſt Men, of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by ſome way or other, from thoſe that ſeem their Equals in Birth, and the common advantages of it; and whether this diſtinction be made by Wealth or Power, or appearance of Knowledg, which gains Eſteem and Applauſe in the World, is all a caſe. More than this, I know no Advantage Mankind has gained, by the progreſs of Natural Philoſophy, during ſo many Ages it has had Vogue in the World,

World, excepting always, and very juſtly, what we owe to the Mathematicks, which is in a manner, all that ſeems valuable among the Civilized Nations, more than thoſe we call Barbarous, whether they are ſo or no, or more ſo than our ſelves.

How ancient this Natural Philoſophy has been in the World, is hard to know, for we find frequent mention of ancient Philoſophers in this kind, among the moſt ancient now extant with us. The firſt who found out the Vanity of it, ſeems to have been *Solomon*, of which Diſcovery he has left ſuch admirable ſtrains in *Eccleſiaſtes*. The next was *Socrates*, who made it the buſineſs of His Life, to explode it, and introduce that which we call Moral in its place, to buſie Human Minds to better purpoſe. And indeed, whoever reads with Thought what theſe two, and *Marcus Antoninus* have ſaid, upon the Vanity of all that mortal Man can ever attain to know of Nature, in its Originals or Operations, may ſave Himſelf a great deal of Pains, and juſtly conclude, That the Knowledg of ſuch things is not our Game; and (like the purſuit of a Stag by a little Spaniel) may ſerve to amuſe

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and to weary us, but will never be hunted down. Yet I think those Three I have named, may justly pass for the wisest Triumvirate that are left us, upon the Records of Story or of Time.

After *Socrates*, who left nothing in writing, many Sects of Philosophers began to spread in *Greece*, who entred boldly upon both parts of Natural and Moral Philosophy. The first, with the greatest Disagreement, and the most eager Contention that could be, upon the greatest Subjects: As, Whether the World were Eternal, or produced at some certain time? Whether if produced, it was by some eternal Mind, and to some end, or by the fortuitous Concourse of Atoms, or some Particles of Eternal Matter? Whether there was one World or many? Whether the Soul of Man was a part of some Æthereal and Eternal Substance, or was Corporeal? Whether if Eternal, it was so before it came into the Body, or only after it went out? There were the same Contentions about the Motions of the Heavens, the Magnitude of the Celestial Bodies, the Faculties of the Mind, and the Judgment of the Senses. But all the different

different Schemes of Nature that have been drawn of old or of late by *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Epicurus*, *Deſ-Cartes*, *Hobs*, or any other that I know of, ſeem to agree but in one thing, which is, The want of Demonſtration or Satisfaction, to any thinking and unpoſſeſſed Man, and ſeem more or leſs probable one than another, according to the Wit and Eloquence of the Authors and Advocates that raiſe or defend them; like Juglers Tricks, that have more or leſs appearance of being real, according to the dextrouſneſs and skill of Him that plays 'em; whereas perhaps if we were capable of knowing Truth and Nature, theſe fine Schemes would prove like Rover Shots, ſome nearer and ſome further off, but all at great diſtance from the Mark, it may be none in ſight.

Yet in the midſt of theſe and many other ſuch Diſputes and Contentions in their Natural Philoſophy, they ſeemed to agree much better in their Moral, and upon their Enquires after the Ultimate End of Man, which was His Happineſs; their Contentions or Differences ſeemed to be rather in Words than in the Senſe of their Opinions, or in the true meaning of their ſeveral Authors or Maſters

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of their Sects: All concluded, that Happineſs was the Chief Good, and ought to be the Ultimate End of Man; that as this was the end of Wiſdom, ſo Wiſdom was the way to Happineſs. The Queſtion then was, in what this Happineſs conſiſted. The Contention grew warmeſt between the Stoicks and Epicureans, the other Sects in this point ſiding in a manner with one or the other of theſe, in their Conceptions or Expreſſions. The Stoicks would have it to conſiſt in Vertue, and the Epicureans in Pleaſure; yet the moſt reaſonable of the Stoicks made the pleaſure of Vertue to be the greateſt Happineſs; and the beſt of the Epicureans made the greateſt Pleaſure to conſiſt in Vertue; and the difference between theſe two ſeems not eaſily diſcovered: All agreed, the greateſt Temper, if not the total ſubduing of Paſſion, and exerciſe of Reaſon, to be the ſtate of the greateſt Felicity: To live without Deſires or Fears, or thoſe Perturbations of Mind and Thought, which Paſſions raiſe: To place true Riches in wanting little, rather than in poſſeſſing much; and true Pleaſure in Temperance, rather than in ſatisfying the Senſes: To live with indifference to

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the common Enjoyments and Accidents of Life, and with Conſtancy upon the greateſt Blows of Fate or of Chance; Not to diſturb our Minds with ſad Reflections upon what is paſt, nor with anxious Cares or raving Hopes about what is to come; neither to diſquiet Life with the Fears of Death, nor Death with the Deſires of Life; but in both and in all things elſe, to follow Nature, ſeem to be the Precepts moſt agreed among them.

Thus Reaſon ſeems only to have been called in, to allay thoſe Diſorders which it ſelf had raiſed, to cure its own Wounds, and pretends to make us wiſe no other way, than by rendring us inſenſible. This at leaſt was the Profeſſion of many rigid Stoicks, who would have had a wiſe Man, not only without any ſort of Paſſion, but without any Senſe of Pain, as well as Pleaſure, and to enjoy Himſelf in the midſt of Diſeaſes and Torments, as well as of Health and Eaſe; a Principle, in my mind, againſt common Nature and common Senſe, and which might have told us in fewer Words, or with leſs Circumſtance, that a Man to be wiſe, ſhould not be a Man; and this perhaps might have been eaſie enough

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to believe, but nothing ſo hard as the other.

The Epicureans were more intelligible in their Notion, and fortunate in their Expreſſion, when they placed a Mans Happineſs in the Tranquility of Mind, and Indolence of Body; for while we are compoſed of both, I doubt both muſt have a ſhare in the good or ill we feel. As Men of ſeveral Languages, ſay the ſame things in very different Words, ſo in ſeveral Ages, Countries, Conſtitutions of Laws and Religion, the ſame thing ſeems to be meant by very different expreſſions; What is called by the Stoicks Apathy, or Diſpaſſion; by the Scepticks, Indiſturbance; by the Moliniſts, Quietiſm; by common Men, Peace of Conſcience, ſeems all to mean but great Tranquility of Mind, though it be made to proceed from ſo diverſe Cauſes, as Human Wiſdom, Innocence of Life, or Reſignation to the Will of God. An old Uſurer had the ſame Notion, when He ſaid, No Man could have Peace of Conſcience, that run out of his Eſtate, not comprehending what elſe was meant by that Phraſe, beſides true Quiet and Content of Mind; which however expreſſed, is, I ſuppoſe, meant by all, to

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be the beſt account that can be given of the Happineſs of Man, ſince no Man can pretend to be happy without it.

I have often wondred, how ſuch ſharp and violent Invectives came to be made ſo generally againſt *Epicurus*, by the Ages that followed Him, whoſe admirable Wit, Felicity of Expreſſion, Excellence of Nature, Sweetneſs of Converſation, Temperance of Life, and Conſtancy of Death, made Him ſo beloved by His Friends, admired by His Scholars, and honoured by the *Athenians*. But this Injuſtice may be faſtned chiefly upon the envy and malignity of the Stoicks at firſt, then upon the Miſtakes of ſome groſs Pretenders to His Sect (who took Pleaſure only to be Senſual) and afterwards, upon the Piety of the Primitive Chriſtians, who eſteemed his Principles of Natural Philoſophy, more oppoſite to thoſe of our Religion, than either the *Platoniſts*, the *Peripateticks*, or *Stoicks* themſelves: Yet I confeſs, I do not know why the account given by *Lucretius* of the Gods, ſhould be thought more impious, than that given by *Homer*, who makes them not only ſubject to all the weakeſt Paſſions, but perpetually buſie in all the worſt or meaneſt Actions of Men.

But

But *Epicurus* has found ſo great Advocates of His Vertue as well as Learning and Inventions, that there need no more; and the Teſtimonies of *Diogenes Laertius* alone, ſeem too ſincere and impartial to be diſputed, or to want the aſſiſtance of Modern Authors: If all failed, He would be but too well defended by the Excellence of ſo many of His Sect in all Ages, and eſpecially of thoſe who lived in the compaſs of one, but the greateſt in Story, both as to Perſons and Events: I need name no more than *Cæſar*, *Atticus*, *Mecœnas*, *Lucretius*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, all admirable in their ſeveral kinds, and perhaps unparallel'd in Story.

Cæſar, if conſider'd in all Lights, may juſtly challenge the firſt place in the Regiſters we have of Mankind, equal only to Himſelf, and ſurpaſſing all others of His Nation and His Age, in the Vertues and Excellencies of a Stateſman, a Captain, an Orator, an Hiſtorian; beſides all theſe, a Poet, a Philoſopher when His leiſure allowed Him; the greateſt Man of Counſel and of Action, of Deſign and Execution; the greateſt Nobleneſs of Birth, of Perſon, and of Countenance; the greateſt Humanity, and Clemency of

of nature, in the midſt of the greateſt Provocations, Occaſions and Examples of Cruelty and Revenge; 'tis true He overturned the Laws and Conſtitutions of His Country, yet 'twas after ſo many others had not only begun, but proceeded very far, to change and violate them; ſo as in what He did, He ſeems rather to have prevented others, than to have done what Himſelf deſigned; for though His Ambition was vaſt, yet it ſeems to have been raiſed to thoſe Heights, rather by the Inſolence of His Enemies, than by His own Temper; and that what was natural to Him, was only a deſire of true Glory, and to acquire it by good Actions as well as great, by Conqueſts of Barbarous Nations, extent of the Roman Empire, defending at firſt the Liberties of the *Plebeians*, oppoſing the Faction that had begun in *Sylla* and ended in *Pompey*; and in the whole courſe of His Victories and Succeſſes, ſeeking all occaſions of Bounty to His Friends, and Clemency to His Enemies.

Atticus appears to have been one of the wiſeſt and beſt of the *Romans*, Learned without pretending, Good without Affectation, Bountiful without Deſign,

a Friend to all Men in misfortune, a Flatterer to no Man in Greatneſs or Power, a Lover of Mankind, and beloved by them all, and by theſe Vertues and Diſpoſitions, He paſſed ſafe and untouched, through all the Flames of Civil Diſſentions, that ravag'd His Country the greateſt part of His Life; and though He never entred into any Publick Affairs, or particular Factions of His State, yet He was favoured, honoured and courted by them all, from *Sylla* to *Auguſtus*.

Mecænas was the wiſeſt Counſellour, the trueſt Friend, both of His Prince and His Country, the beſt Governor of *Rome*, the happieſt and ableſt Negociator, the beſt Judge of Learning and Vertue, the choiceſt in His Friends, and thereby the happieſt in His Converſation that has been known in Story; and I think, to His Conduct in Civil, and *Agrippa*'s in Military Affairs, may be truly aſcribed all the Fortunes and Greatneſs of *Auguſtus*, ſo much celebrated in the World.

For *Lucretius*, *Virgil* and *Horace*, they deſerve in my Opinion, the Honour of the greateſt Philoſophers, as well as the beſt Poets of their Nation or Age. The two firſt, beſides what looks like ſomething

thing more than Human in their Poetry, were very great Naturaliſts, and admirable in their Morals: And *Horace*, beſides the Sweetneſs and Elegancy of his Lyricks, appears in the reſt of His Writings, ſo great a Maſter of Life, and of true Senſe in the Conduct of it, that I know none beyond him. It was no mean ſtrain of His Philoſophy, to refuſe being Secretary to *Auguſtus*, when ſo great an Emperor ſo much deſired it. But all the different Sects of Philoſophers, ſeem to have agreed in the Opinion, of a wiſe Man's abſtaining from Publick Affairs, which is thought the meaning of *Pythagoras*'s Precept, To abſtain from Beans, by which the Affairs or publick Reſolutions in *Athens* were managed. They thought that ſort of Buſineſs too groſs and material for the abſtracted fineneſs of their Speculations. They eſteemed it too ſordid and too artificial for the cleanneſs and ſimplicity of their Manners and Lives. They would have no part in the Faults of a Government, and they knew too well, that the Nature and Paſſions of Men made them incapable of any that was perfect and good, and therefore thought all the Service they could

do to the State they lived under, was to mend the Lives and Manners of particular Men that compoſed it. But where Factions were once entred and rooted in a State, they thought it madneſs for Good Men to meddle with Publick Affairs, which made them turn their Thoughts and Entertainments to any thing rather than this; and *Heraclitus*, having upon the Factions of the Citizens, quitted the Government of His City, and amuſing Himſelf, to play with the Boys in the Porch of the Temple, askt thoſe who wondred at Him, *Whether 'twas not better to play with ſuch Boys, than govern ſuch Men?* But above all, they eſteemed Publick Buſineſs the moſt contrary of all others, to that Tranquility of Mind, which they eſteemed and taught, to be the only true Felicity of Man.

For this reaſon *Epicurus* paſſed His Life wholly in His Garden; there He Studied, there He Exerciſed, there He taught His Philoſophy; and indeed, no other ſort of Abode ſeems to contribute ſo much, to both the Tranquility of Mind, and Indolence of Body, which He made His Chief Ends. The Sweetneſs of Air, the Pleaſantneſs of Smells, the

the Verdure of Plants, the Cleanneſs and Lightneſs of Food, the Exerciſes of working or walking, but above all, the Exemption from Cares and Sollicitude, ſeem equally to favour and improve, both Contemplation and Health, the Enjoyments of Senſe and Imagination, and thereby the Quiet and Eaſe both of the Body and Mind.

Though *Epicurus* be ſaid to have been the firſt that had a Garden in *Athens*, whoſe Citizens before Him, had theirs in their Villaes or Farms without the City; yet the uſe of Gardens ſeems to have been the moſt ancient and moſt general of any ſorts of Poſſeſſion among Mankind, and to have preceded thoſe of Corn or of Cattle, as yielding the eaſier, the pleaſanter, and more natural Food. As it has been the Inclination of Kings, and the choice of Philoſophers, ſo has it been the common Favourite of publick and private Men, a Pleaſure of the greateſt, and a Care of the meaneſt, and indeed an Employment and a Poſſeſſion, for which no Man is too high nor too low.

If we believe the Scripture, we muſt allow that God Almighty eſteemed the Life of a Man in a Garden the happieſt

He could give Him, or elſe He would not have placed *Adam* in that of *Eden*; that it was the ſtate of Innocence and Pleaſure; and that the Life of Husbandry and Cities, came in after the Fall, with Guilt and with Labour.

Where Paradiſe was, has been much debated, and little agreed; but what ſort of place is meant by it, may perhaps eaſier be conjectured. It ſeems to have been a *Perſian* Word, ſince *Zenophon* and other Greek Authors mention it, as what was much in uſe and delight among the Kings of thoſe Eaſtern Countries. *Strabo* deſcribing *Jericho*, ſays, *Ibi eſt palmetum, cui immixtæ ſunt, etiam aliæ ſtirpes hortenſes, locus ferax, palmis abundans, ſpatio ſtadiorum centum, totus irriguus, ibi eſt Regia & Balſami Paradiſus.* He mentions another place, to be *prope Libanum & Paradiſum.* And *Alexander* is written to have ſeen *Cyrus*'s Tomb in a Paradiſe, being a Tower not very great, and covered with a ſhade of Trees about it. So that a Paradiſe among them ſeems to have been a large ſpace of Ground, adorned and beautified with all ſorts of Trees, both of Fruits and of Foreſt, either found there before it was incloſed, or planted after; either cultivated

vated like Gardens, for Shades and for Walks, with Fountains or Streams, and all ſorts of Plants uſual in the Climat, and pleaſant to the Eye, the Smell, or the Taſte; or elſe employed, like our Parks, for Incloſure and Harbor of all ſorts of Wild Beaſts, as well as for the pleaſure of riding and walking: And ſo they were of more or leſs extent, and of differing entertainment, according to the ſeveral Humours of the Princes that ordered and incloſed them.

Semiramis is the firſt we are told of in Story, that brought them in uſe through Her Empire, and was ſo fond of them, as to make one where ever ſhe built, and in all or moſt of the Provinces ſhe ſubdued, which are ſaid to have been from *Babylon* as far as *India*. The *Aſſyrian* Kings continued this Cuſtom and Care, or rather this Pleaſure, till one of them brought in the uſe of ſmaller and more regular Gardens; For having married a Wife he was fond of, out of one of the Provinces, where ſuch Paradiſes or Gardens were much in uſe, and the Country Lady not well bearing the Air or Incloſure of the Palace in *Babylon* to which the *Aſſyrian* Kings uſed to confine themſelves, He

made Her Gardens, not only within the Palace, but upon Terraſes raiſed with Earth, over the arched Roofs, and even upon the top of the higheſt Tower, planted them with all ſorts of Fruit-Trees, as well as other Plants and Flowers, the moſt pleaſant of that Country, and thereby made at leaſt the moſt airy Gardens, as well as the moſt coſtly, that have been heard of in the World. This Lady may probably have been Native of the Provinces of *Chaſimer* or of *Damaſcus*, which have in all times been the happieſt Regions for Fruits of all the Eaſt, by the Excellence of Soyl, the poſition of Mountains, the frequency of Streams rather than the Advantages of Climat. And 'tis great pity we do not yet ſee the Hiſtory of *Chaſimir*, which *Mounſieur Bernier* aſſured me, He had tranſlated out of *Perſian*, and intended to publiſh, and of which He has given ſuch a taſt, in His excellent Memoirs, of the *Mogul*'s Country.

The next Gardens we read of, are thoſe of *Solomon*, planted with all ſorts of Fruit-Trees, and watered with Fountains; and though we have no more particular Deſcription of them, yet we may find, they were the Places where

He

He paſſed the times of His Leiſure and Delight, where the Houſes as well as Grounds, were adorned with all that could be of pleaſing and elegant, and were the Retreats and Entertainments of thoſe among his Wives that He loved the beſt; and 'tis not improbable, that the Paradiſes mentioned by *Strabo* were planted by this great and wiſeſt King. But the Idea of the Garden muſt be very great, if it anſwers at all to that of the Gardner, who muſt have employed a great deal of His Care and of His Study, as well as of His Leiſure and Thought in theſe Entertainments, ſince He writ of all Plants, from the Cedar to the Shrub.

What the Gardens of the *Heſperides* were, we have little or no account, further than the mention of them, and thereby the Teſtimony of their having been in uſe and requeſt, in ſuch remoteneſs of place, and Antiquity of Time.

The Garden of *Alcinous* deſcribed by *Homer*, ſeems wholly Poetical, and made at the pleaſure of the Painter, like the reſt of the Romantick Palace, in that little barren Iſland of *Phæacia* or *Corfu*. Yet as all the pieces of this tranſcendent Genius, are compoſed with excellent Knowledge, as well as Fancy, ſo they

ſeldom

ſeldom fail of Inſtruction as well as Delight to all that read Him. The Seat of this Garden, joyning to the Gates of the Palace, the Compaſs of the Incloſure, being Four Acres, the tall Trees of Shade as well as thoſe of Fruit, the two Fountains, one for the uſe of the Garden, and the other of the Palace, the continual Succeſſion of Fruits throughout the whole Year, are, for ought I know, the beſt Rules or Proviſions, that can go towards compoſing the beſt Gardens; nor is it unlikely, that *Homer* may have drawn this Picture after the life of ſome he had ſeen in *Ionia*, the Country and uſual Abode of this Divine Poet; and indeed the Region of the moſt refined Pleaſures and Luxury, as well as Invention and Wit: For the humour and cuſtom of Gardens may have deſcended earlier into the lower *Aſia*, from *Damaſcus*, *Aſſyria*, and other parts of the Eaſtern Empires, though they ſeem to have made late Entrance, and ſmaller Improvement in thoſe of *Greece* and *Rome*, at leaſt in no proportion to their other Inventions or Refinements of Pleaſure and Luxury.

The long and flouriſhing Peace of the two firſt Empires, gave earlier riſe and growth

growth to Learning and Civility, and all the Conſequences of them, in Magnificence and Elegancy of Building and Gardening; whereas *Greece* and *Rome* were almoſt perpetually engaged in Quarrels and Wars, either abroad or at home, and ſo were buſie in Actions, that were done under the Sun, rather than thoſe under the Shade. Theſe were the Entertainments of the ſofter Nations, that fell under the Vertue and Proweſs of the two laſt Empires, which from thoſe Conqueſts brought home mighty Increaſes both of Riches and Luxury, and ſo perhaps loſt more than they got by the Spoils of the Eaſt.

There may be another reaſon for the ſmall advance of Gardning in thoſe excellent and more temperate Climats, where the Air and Soyl were ſo apt of themſelves, to produce the beſt ſorts of Fruits, without the neceſſity of cultivating them, by labour and care; whereas the hotter Climats as well as the cold, are forced upon Induſtry and Skill, to produce or improve many Fruits that grow of themſelves in the more temperate Regions. However it were, we have very little mention of Gardens in old *Greece* or in old *Rome*, for pleaſure

or

or with Elegance, nor of much curiouſneſs or care, to introduce the Fruits of Foreign Climats, contenting themſelves with thoſe, which were Native of their own, and theſe were, the Vine, the Olive, the Fig, the Pear, and the Apple; *Cato*, as I remember, mentions no more, and their Gardens were then but the neceſſary part of their Farms, intended particularly for the cheap and eaſie Food of their Hinds or Slaves, imployed in their Agriculture, and ſo were turned chiefly to all the common ſorts of Plants, Herbs, or Legumes, (as the French call them) proper for common nouriſhment; and the name of *Hortus* is taken to be from *Ortus*, becauſe it perpetually furniſhes ſome riſe or production of ſomething new in the World.

Lucullus, after the *Mithridatick* War, firſt brought Cherries from *Pontus* into *Italy*, which ſo generally pleas'd, and were ſo eaſily propagated in all Climats, that within the ſpace of about an hundred years, having travelled Weſtward with the *Roman* Conqueſts, they grew common as far as the *Rhine*, and paſſed over into *Britain*. After the Conqueſt of *Africk*, *Greece*, the leſſer *Aſia*, and *Syria*, were brought in-

to

to *Italy*, all the ſorts of their *Mala*, which we interpret Apples, and might ſignifie no more at firſt, but were afterwards applied to many other Foreign Fruits: The Apricocks coming from *Epire*, were called *Mala Epirotica*; Peaches from *Perſia*, *Mala Perſica*; Citrons from *Media*, *Medica*; Pomgranets from *Carthage*, *Punica*; Quinces, *Cothonea*, from a ſmall Iſland in the *Grecian* Seas; their beſt Pears were brought from *Alexandria*, *Numidia*, *Greece* and *Numantia*, as appears by their ſeveral Appellations: Their Plums, from *Armenia*, *Syria*, but chiefly from *Damaſcus*. The kinds of theſe are reckon'd in *Nero's* time, to have been near Thirty, as well as of Figs, and many of them were entertained at *Rome*, with ſo great Applauſe, and ſo general Vogue, that the great Captains, and even Conſular Men, who firſt brought them over, took pride in giving them their own Names, (by which they run a great while in *Rome*) as in memory of ſome great Service or Pleaſure, they had done their Country; ſo that not only Laws and Battels, but ſeveral ſorts of Apples or *Mala*, and of Pears, were called *Manlian* and *Claudian*, *Pompeyan* and *Tiberian*, and by

by ſeveral other ſuch Noble Names.

Thus the Fruits of *Rome*, in about an hundred years, came from Countries as far as their Conqueſts had reached, and like Learning, Architecture, Painting and Statuary, made their great advances in *Italy*, about the *Auguſtan* Age. What was of moſt requeſt, in their common Gardens, in *Virgil*'s time, or at leaſt in His Youth, may be conjectured, by the Deſcription of His old *Corycian*'s Garden, in the Fourth of the Georgicks, which begins,

Namq; ſub Oebaliæ memini me turribus altis.

Among Flowers, the Roſes had the firſt place, eſpecially a kind which bore twice a year; and none other ſorts are here mention'd beſides the *Narciſſus*, tho the Violet and the Lilly were very common and the next in eſteem, eſpecially the *Breve Lillium*, which was the *Tubereuſe*. The Plants he mentions, are the *Apium*, which tho commonly interpreted *Parſly*, yet comprehends all ſorts of Smallage, whereof Sellary is one, Cucumis, which takes in all ſorts of Melons, as well as Cucumbers; *Olus*, which is a common Word for all ſorts of Pot-herbs

herbs and Legumes; *Verbenas*, which ſignifies all kinds of Sweet or Sacred Plants, that were uſed for adorning the Altars, as Bays, Olive, Roſemary, Mirtle; the *Acanthus* ſeems to be what we call *Pericanthe*; but what their *Hederæ* were, that deſerved place in a Garden, I cannot gueſs, unleſs they had ſorts of Ivy unknown to us; nor what His *Veſcum Papaver* was, ſince Poppies with us are of no uſe in eating. The Fruits mentioned, are only Apples, Pears, and Plums; for Olives, Vines, and Figs were grown to be Fruits of their Fields, rather than of their Gardens. The Shades were the Elm, the Pine, the Lime-tree, and the *Platanus*, or Plane-tree, whoſe Leaf and Shade, of all others, was the moſt in requeſt; and having been brought out of *Perſia*, was ſuch an Inclination among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, that they uſually fed it with Wine inſtead of Water; they believed this Tree loved that Liquor, as well as thoſe that uſed to drink under its Shade; which was a great humour and cuſtom, and perhaps gave riſe to the other, by obſerving the growth of the Tree, or largeneſs of the Leafs, where much Wine was ſpilt or left, and thrown upon the Roots. 'Tis

'Tis great pity the haſt which *Virgil* ſeems here to have been in, ſhould have hindered Him from entring farther into the Account or Inſtructions of Gardning, which He ſaid He could have given, and which He ſeems to have ſo much eſteemed and loved, by that admirable Picture of this old Man's Felicity, which He draws, like ſo great a Maſter, with one ſtroke of a Pencil, in thoſe Four Words:

Regum æquabat opes animis.

That in the midſt of theſe ſmall Poſſeſſions, upon a few Acres of barren ground, yet He equalled all the Wealth and Opulence of Kings, in the Eaſe, Content, and Freedom of His Mind.

I am not ſatisfied with the common Acception of the *Mala Aurea*, for Oranges; nor do I find any paſſage in the Authors of that Age, which gives me the Opinion, that theſe were otherwiſe known to the *Romans* than as Fruits of the Eaſtern Climats. I ſhould take their *Mala Aurea* to be rather ſome kind of Apples, ſo called from the golden Colour, as ſome are amongſt us; for otherwiſe, the Orange-tree is too Noble, in the

the beauty, taſte and ſmell of its Fruit, in the Perfume and Vertue of its Flowers, in the perpetual Verdure of its Leaves, and in the excellent uſes of all theſe, both for Pleaſure and Health, not to have deſerved any particular mention in the Writings of an Age and Nation, ſo refined and exquiſite in all ſorts of delicious Luxury.

The charming Deſcription *Virgil* makes of the Happy Apple, muſt be intended either for the Citron, or for ſome ſort of Orange growing in *Media*, which was either ſo proper to that Country, as not to grow in any other (as a certain ſort of Fig was to *Damaſcus*) or to have loſt its Vertue by changing Soyls, or to have had its effect of curing ſome ſort of Poyſon that was uſual in that Country, but particular to it: I cannot forbear inſerting theſe few Lines, out of the ſecond of *Virgil*'s Georgicks, not having ever heard any body elſe take notice of them.

Media *fert triſtes ſuccos tardumq; ſaporem*
Fœlicis Mali, quo non præſentius ullum,
Pocula ſi quando ſævæ infecere Novercæ,
Auxilium venit, ac membris agit atra venena;

Ipſa ingens arbos, faciemq; ſimilima lauro,
Et ſi non alios late jactaret odores,
Laurus erit, folia haud ullis labentia ventis,
Flos apprima tenax, animas & olentia Medi
Ora fovent illo, ac ſenibus medicantur anhelis.

Media *brings poyſonous herbs, and the flat taſte*
Of the bleſt Apple, than which ne're was found
A help more preſent, when curſt Stepdames mix
Their mortal Cups, to drive the Venom out.
'Tis a large Tree, and like a Bays in hue,
And did it not ſuch Odours caſt about,
'Twould be a Bays, the leafs with no winds fall,
The Flowers all excel; with theſe the Medes
Perfume their Breaths, and cure old purſie Men.

The Tree being ſo like a Bays or Lawrel, the ſlow or dull taſte of the Apple, the Vertue of it againſt Poyſon, ſeem to deſcribe the Citron. The Perfume of the Flowers and Vertues of them, to cure ill Sents of Mouth or Breath, or ſhortneſs of Wind in purſie old Men, ſeem to agree moſt with the Orange: If *Flos apprima tenax*, mean only

only the Excellence of the Flower above all others, it may be intended for the Orange: If it ſignifies the Flowers growing moſt upon the tops of the Trees, it may be rather the Citron; for I have been ſo curious, as to bring up a Citron from a Kernel, which at twelve years age, began to flower; and I obſerved all the Flowers to grow upon the top Branches of the Tree, but to be nothing ſo high or ſweet-ſented, as the Orange. On the other ſide, I have always heard Oranges to paſs for a Cordial Juyce, and a great Preſervative againſt the Plague, which is a ſort of Venom; ſo that I know not to which of theſe we are to aſcribe this lovely Picture of the Happy Apple; but I am ſatisfied by it, that neither of them was at all common, if at all known in *Italy*, at that time or long after, though the Fruit be now ſo frequent there in Fields (at leaſt in ſome parts) and make ſo common and delicious a part of Gardning, even in theſe Northern Clymats.

In theſe Countries our Gardens are very different from what they were in *Greece* and *Italy*, and from what they are now in thoſe Regions in *Spain*, or the Southern parts of *France*. And as

moſt general Cuſtoms in Countries grow from the different nature of Climats, Soyls, or Situations, and from the neceſſities or Induſtry they impoſe, ſo do theſe.

In the warmer Regions, Fruits and Flowers of the beſt ſorts are ſo common, and of ſo eaſie Production, that they grow in Fields, and are not worth the coſt of incloſing, or the care of more than ordinary cultivating. On the other ſide, the great Pleaſures of thoſe Climats are coolneſs of Air, and what ever looks cool even to the Eyes, and relieves them from the unpleaſant ſight of duſty Streets or parched Fields. This makes the Gardens of thoſe Countries be chiefly valued by largeneſs of Extent (which gives greater play and openneſs of Air) by Shades of Trees, by frequency of living Streams or Fountains, by Perſpectives, by Statues, and by Pillars and Obelisks of Stone ſcattered up and down, which all conſpire to make any place look freſh and cool. On the contrary, the more Northern Climats, as they ſuffer little by Heat, make little Proviſion againſt it, and are careleſs of Shade, and ſeldom curious in Fountains. Good Statues are in the reach

reach of few Men, and common ones are generally and juſtly deſpiſed or neglected. But no ſorts of good Fruits or Flowers, being Natives of the Climats, or uſual among us, (nor indeed the beſt ſorts of Plants, Herbs, Sallads for our Kitchin Gardens themſelves) and the beſt Fruits not ripening without the advantage of Walls or Paliſades, by reflection of the faint Heat we receive from the Sun, our Gardens are made of ſmaller Compaſs, ſeldom exceeding four, ſix, or eight Acres, incloſed with Walls, and laid out in a manner wholly for advantage of Fruits, Flowers, and the Product of Kitchin Gardens in all ſorts of Herbs, Sallads, Plants and Legumes, for the common uſe of Tables.

Theſe are uſually the Gardens of *England* and *Holland*, as the firſt ſort are thoſe of *Italy*, and were ſo of old. In the more temperate parts of *France*, and in *Brabant* (where I take Gardning to be at its greateſt height) they are compoſed of both ſorts, the extent more ſpacious than ours, part laid out for Flowers, others for Fruits, ſome Standards, ſome againſt Walls or Paliſades, ſome for Foreſt Trees and Groves for Shade, ſome parts wild, ſome exact,

and Fountains much in requeſt among them.

But after ſo much ramble into Antient Times, and remote Places, to return home and conſider the preſent way and humour of our Gardning in *England*, which ſeem to have grown into ſuch Vogue, and to have been ſo mightily improved, in three or four and twenty years of His Majeſties Reign, that perhaps few Countries are before us, either in the Elegance of our Gardens, or in the number of our Plants; and I believe none equals us in the Variety of Fruits, which may juſtly be called good; and from the earlieſt Cherry and Strawberry to the laſt Apples and Pears, may furniſh every day of the circling year. For the Taſte and Perfection of what we eſteem the beſt, I may truly ſay, that the French who have eaten my Peaches and Grapes at *Sheen* in no very ill year, have generally concluded, that the laſt are as good as any they have eaten in *France* on this ſide *Fountainbleau*, and the firſt as good as any they have eat in *Gaſcony*; I mean thoſe which come from the Stone, and are properly called Peaches, not thoſe which are hard, and are termed Pavies; for theſe cannot grow in too warm

warm a Climat, nor ever be good in a cold, and are better at *Madrid* than in *Gaſcony* it ſelf: *Italians* have agreed, my White Figs to be as good as any of that ſort in *Italy*, which is the earlier kind of White Fig there; for in the later kind, and the blue, we cannot come near the warm Climats, no more than in the *Frontignac* or *Muſcat* Grape.

My Orange-trees are as large as any I ſaw, when I was young in *France*, except thoſe of *Fountainbleau*, or what I have ſeen ſince in the Low Countries, except ſome very old ones of the Prince of Oranges; as laden with Flowers as any can well be, as full of Fruit as I ſuffer or deſire them, and as well taſted as are commonly brought over, except the beſt ſorts of *Sevil* and *Portugal*. And thus much I could not but ſay, in defence of our Climat, which is ſo much and ſo generally decried abroad, by thoſe who never ſaw it, or if they have been here, have yet perhaps ſeen no more of it, than what belongs to Inns, or to Taverns and Ordinaries, who accuſe our Country for their own Defaults, and ſpeak ill, not only of our Gardens and Houſes, but of our Humours, our Breeding, our Cuſtoms and

Manners of Life, by what they have observed of the meaner and baſer ſort of Mankind and of Company among us, becauſe they wanted themſelves perhaps either Fortune or Birth, either Quality or Merit, to introduce them among the good.

I muſt needs add one thing more in favour of our Climat, which I heard the King ſay, and I thought new and right, and truly like a King of *England* that loved and eſteemed His own Country: 'Twas in reply to ſome of the Company that were reviling our Climat, and extolling thoſe of *Italy* and *Spain*, or at leaſt of *France*; He ſaid, He thought that was the beſt Climat, where He could be abroad in the Air with Pleaſure, or at leaſt without Trouble and Inconvenience, the moſt days of the Year, and the moſt hours of the Day; and this He thought He could be in *England*, more than in any Country He knew of in *Europe*. And I believe it is true, not only of the hot and the cold, but even among our Neighbours in *France* and the Low-Countries themſelves, where the Heats or the Colds, and Changes of Seaſons, are leſs treatable than they are with us.

The

The truth is, our Climat wants no Heat to produce excellent Fruits, and the Default of it, is only the ſhort Seaſon of our Heats or Summers, by which many of the later are left behind and imperfect with us. But all ſuch as are ripe before the end of *Auguſt*, are for ought I know, as good with us as any where elſe. This makes me eſteem the true Region of Gardens in *England* to be the compaſs of Ten Miles about *London*, where the accidental warmth of Air, from the Fires and Steams of ſo vaſt a Town, makes Fruits as well as Corn a great deal forwarder than in *Hampſhire* or *Wiltſhire*, though more Southward by a full Degree.

There are, beſides the Temper of our Climat, two things particular to us, that contribute much to the Beauty and Elegance of our Gardens, which are the Gravel of our Walks, and the fineneſs and almoſt perpetual Greenneſs of our Turf. The firſt is not known any where elſe, and which leaves all their dry Walks in other Countries very unpleaſant and uneaſie. The other cannot be found in *France* or in *Holland* as we have it, the Soyl not admitting that fineneſs of Blade in *Holland*, nor the Sun that

Greenneſs

Greenneſs in *France* during moſt of the Summer; nor indeed is it to be found but in the fineſt of our Soyls.

Who-ever begins a Garden, ought in the firſt place and above all, to conſider the Soyl, upon which the taſte of not only His Fruits, but His Legumes, and even Herbs and Sallads, will wholly depend, and the default of Soyl is without remedy; for although all Borders of Fruit may be made, with what Earth you pleaſe (if you will be at the charge) yet it muſt be renewed in two or three years, or it runs into the nature of the Ground where 'tis brought. Old Trees ſpread their Roots further than any Bodies Care extends, or the Forms of the Garden will allow; and after all, where the Soyl about you is ill, the Air is ſo too in a Degree, and has Influence upon the taſte of Fruit. What *Horace* ſays of the productions of Kitchin Gardens under the Name of *Caulis*, is true of all the beſt ſorts of Fruits, and may determine the choice of Soyl for all Gardens.

Caule ſuburbano qui ſiccis crevit in agris
Dulcior, irriguis nihil eſt elutius hortis.

Plants

Plants from dry Fields thoſe of the Town excel,
Nothing more taſtleſs is than water'd grounds.

Any Man had better throw away His Care and His Mony upon any thing elſe, than upon a Garden in wet or moiſt Ground: Peaches and Grapes will have no taſte but upon a Sand or Gravel; but the richer theſe are the better; and neither Sallads, Peaſe or Beans have at all the taſte upon a Clay or rich Earth, as they have upon either of the others, tho the Size and Colour of Fruits and Plants may perhaps be more upon the worſe Soyls.

Next to your choice of Soyl, is to ſuit your Plants to your Ground, ſince of this every one is not Maſter; though perhaps *Varro*'s Judgment upon this caſe, is the wiſeſt and the beſt: For to one that asked Him What He ſhould do, if His Father or Anceſtors had left Him a Seat in an ill Air, or upon an ill Soyl? He anſwered, Why ſell it and buy another in good. But what if I cannot get half the worth? Why then take a quarter, but however ſell it, or any thing rather than live upon it.

Of

Of all ſorts of Soyl, the beſt is that upon a Sandy Gravel, or a Roſiny Sand; whoever lies upon either of theſe, may run boldly into all the beſt ſort of Peaches and Grapes, how ſhallow ſoever the Turf be upon them; and whatever other Tree will thrive in theſe Soyls, the Fruit ſhall be of much finer taſte than any other: A richer Soyl will do well enough for Apricocks, Plums, Pears or Figs; but ſtill the more of the Sand in your Earth the better, and the worſe the more of the Clay, which is proper for Oaks, and no other Tree that I know of.

Fruits ſhould be ſuited to the Climat among us, as well as the Soyl; for there are degrees of one and the other in *England*, where 'tis to little purpoſe to plant any of the beſt Fruits, as Peaches or Grapes, hardly I doubt beyond *Northamptonſhire* at the furtheſt *Northwards*; and I thought it very prudent in a Gentleman of my Friends in *Staffordſhire*, who is a great Lover of His Garden, to pretend no higher, though His Soyl be good enough, than to the perfection of Plums, and in theſe (by beſtowing South Walls upon them) He has very well ſucceeded, which He could never

never have done in attempts upon Peaches and Grapes; and a good Plum is certainly better than an ill Peach.

When I was at *Coſevelt* with that Biſhop of *Munſter* that made ſo much noiſe in His time, I obſerved no other Trees but Cherries in a great Garden He had made. He told me the reaſon was, Becauſe He found no other Fruit would ripen well in that Climat, or upon that Soyl, and therefore inſtead of being curious in others, He had only been ſo, in the ſorts of that, whereof He had ſo many, as never to be without them from *May* to the end of *September.*

As to the ſize of a Garden, which will perhaps in time grow extravagant among us, I think from four or five to ſeven or eight Acres, is as much as any Gentleman need deſign, and will furniſh as much of all that is expected from it as any Nobleman will have occaſion to uſe in His Family.

In every Garden four things are neceſſary to be provided for, Flowers, Fruit, Shade, and Water; and whoever lays out a Garden without all theſe, muſt not pretend it in any perfection: It ought to lie to the beſt parts of the Houſe,

Houſe, or to thoſe of the Maſter's commoneſt uſe, ſo as to be but like one of the Rooms out of which you ſtep into another. The part of your Garden next your Houſe, (beſides the Walks that go round it) ſhould be a Parterre for Flowers, or Graſs-plots bordered with Flowers; or if, according to the neweſt mode, it be caſt all into Graſs-plots and Gravel-walks, the drineſs of theſe ſhould be relieved with Fountains, and the plainneſs of thoſe with Statues; otherwiſe, if large, they have an ill effect upon the Eye. However the part next the Houſe ſhould be open, and no other Fruit but upon the Walls. If this take up one half of the Garden, the other ſhould be Fruit-Trees, unleſs ſome Grove for Shade lye in the middle. If it take up a third part only, then the next third may be Dwarf-Trees, and the laſt Standard Fruit; or elſe the Second Part Fruit-trees, and the third all ſorts of Winter-greens, which provide for all Seaſons of the year.

I will not enter upon any account of Flowers, having only pleaſed my ſelf with ſeeing or ſmelling them, and not troubled my ſelf with the Care, which is more the Ladies part than the Mens,

but

but the Succeſs is wholly in the Gardner. For Fruits, the beſt we have in *England*, or I believe can ever hope for, are, of Peaches, the *White* and *Red Maudlin*, the *Minion*, the *Chevreuſe*, the *Rambouillet*, the *Muſk*, the *Admirable*, which is late, all the reſt are either varified by Names, or not to be named with theſe, nor worth troubling a Garden, in my Opinion. Of the *Pavies* or Hard Peaches, I know none good here but the *Newington*, nor will that eaſily hang till 'tis full ripe. The forward Peaches are to be eſteemed only becauſe they are early, but yet ſhould find room in a good Garden, at leaſt the White and Brown Nutmeg, the *Perſian*, and the Violet Muſk. The only good Nectorins are the Murry and the French; of theſe there are two ſorts, one very round, the other ſomething long, but the round is the beſt: Of the Murry there are ſeveral ſorts, but being all hard, they are ſeldom well ripened with us.

Of Grapes, the beſt are the *Chaſſelas*, which is the better ſort of our White Muſcadin, (as the uſual Name was); about *Sheen*, 'tis called the Pearl Grape, and ripens well enough in common years,

years, but not ſo well as the common Black or Currand, which is ſomething a worſe Grape. The Parſly is good and proper enough to our Climat, but all white *Frontiniacks* are difficult, and ſeldom ripe unleſs in extraordinary Summers.

I have had the Honour of bringing over four ſorts into *Engalnd*; the *Arboyſe* from the *Franche Conte*, which is a ſmall white Grape, or rather runs into ſome ſmall and ſome great upon the ſame Bunch; it agrees well with our Climat, but is very choice in Soyl, and muſt have a ſharp Gravel; it is the moſt delicious of all Grapes that are not Muſcat. The *Burgundy*, which is a grizelin or pale red, and of all others is ſureſt to ripen in our Climat, ſo that I have never known them to fail one Summer theſe fifteen years, when all others have, and have had it very good upon an Eaſt Wall. A Black Muſcat, which is called the *Dowager*, and ripens as well as the common White Grape. And the fourth is the *Grizelin Frontignac*, being of that Colour, and the higheſt of that Taſte, and the nobleſt of all Grapes I ever eat in *England*, but requires the hotteſt Wall and the ſharpeſt Gravel, and muſt be

favour-

favoured by the Summer too, to be very good. All theſe are, I ſuppoſe, by this time, pretty common among ſome Gardners in my Neighbourhood, as well as ſeveral Perſons of Quality; for I have ever thought all things of this kind, the commoner they are made, the better.

Of Figs there are among us the White, the Blue, and the Tawny: The laſt is very ſmall, bears ill, and I think but a Bawble. Of the Blew there are two or three ſorts, but little different, one ſomething longer than the other; but that kind which ſwells moſt is ever the beſt. Of the White I know but two ſorts, and both excellent, one ripe in the beginning of *July*, the other in the end of *September*, and is yellower than the firſt; but this is hard to be found among us, and difficult to raiſe, though an excellent Fruit.

Of Apricocks the beſt are the common old ſort, and the largeſt Maſculin, of which this laſt is much improved by budding upon a Peach Stock. I eſteem none of this Fruit but the *Bruſſels* Apricock, which grows a Standard, and is one of the beſt Fruits we have, and which I firſt brought over among us.

The number of good Pears, eſpecially Summer, is very great, but the beſt are the Blanquet, Robin, Rouſſelet, Roſati, Sans Pepin, Jargonell. Of the Autumn, the Buree, the Vertelongue, and the Bergamot. Of the Winter, the Vergoluz, Chaſſeray, St. Michael, St. Germain, and Ambret: I eſteem the Bon-Cretien with us good for nothing but to Bake.

Of Plums the beſt are St. Julian, St. Catharine, white and blew Pedrigon, Queen-mother, Sheen-Plum, and Cheſton.

Beyond the ſorts I have named, none I think need trouble himſelf, but multiply theſe, rather than make room for more kinds; and I am content to leave this Regiſter, having been ſo often deſired it by my Friends upon their deſigns of Gardning.

I need ſay nothing of Apples, being ſo well known among us; but the beſt of our Climat, and I believe of all others, is the Golden Pippin, and for all ſorts of uſes: The next is the Kentiſh Pippin, but theſe I think are as far from their perfection with us as Grapes, and yield to thoſe of *Normandy*, as theſe to thoſe in *Anjou*, and even theſe to thoſe in

Gaſ-

Gaſcony. In other Fruits the defect of Sun is in a great meaſure ſupplied by the advantage of Walls.

The next care to that of ſuiting Trees with the Soyl, is that of ſuiting Fruits to the Poſition of Walls. Grapes, Peaches, and Winter Pears to be good, muſt be planted upon full South or South-eaſt; Figs are beſt upon South-eaſt, but will do well upon, Eaſt, and South-Weſt: The Weſt are proper for Cherries, Plums or Apricocks, but all of them are improved by a South Wall both as to early and taſt: North, North-Weſt, or North-Eaſt, deſerve nothing but Greens; theſe ſhould be divided by Woodbines or Jeſſemins between every Green, and the other Walls, by a Vine between every Fruit-Tree; the beſt ſorts upon the South-Walls, the common White and Black upon Eaſt and Weſt, becauſe the other Trees being many of them (eſpecially Peaches) very tranſitory, ſome apt to die with hard Winters, others to be cut down and make room for new Fruits: Without this Method the Walls are left for ſeveral Years unfurniſhed; whereas the Vines on each ſide cover the void ſpace in one Summer, and when the other Trees are grown, make

only a Pillar between them of two or three Foot broad.

Whoever would have the beſt Fruits in the moſt perfection our Climat will allow, ſhould not only take care of giving them as much Sun, but alſo as much Air as he can; no Tree, unleſs Dwarf, ſhould be ſuffered to grow within Forty Foot of your beſt Walls, but the farther they lie open, is ſtill the better. Of all others this Care is moſt neceſſary in Vines, which are obſerved abroad to make the beſt Wines, where they lie upon ſides of Hills, and ſo moſt expoſed to the Air and the Winds. The way of pruning them too, is beſt learnt from the Vineyards, where you ſee nothing in Winter, but what looks like a dead ſtump; and upon our Walls, they ſhould be left but like a ragged Staff, not above two or three Eyes at moſt upon the Bearing Branches; and the lower the Vine, and fewer the Branches, the Grapes will be ſtill the better.

The beſt Figure of a Garden is either a Square or an Oblong, and either upon a Flat or a Deſcent; they have all their Beauties, but the beſt I eſteem an Oblong upon a Deſcent. The Beauty, the Air, the View, make amends for the

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expence, which is very great in finiſhing and ſupporting the Terras-walks, in levelling the Parterres, and in the ſtone Stairs that are neceſſary from one to the other.

The perfecteſt Figure of a Garden I ever ſaw, either at home or abroad, was that of *Moor-Park*, in *Hartfordſhire* when I knew it about thirty years ago. It was made by the Counteſs of *Bedford*, eſteemed among the greateſt Wits of Her time, and celebrated by Dr. *Donne*; and with very great Care, Excellent Contrivance, and much Coſt; but greater Sums may be thrown away without effect or Honour, if there want Senſe in proportion to Mony, or if Nature be not followed, which I take to be the great Rule in this, and perhaps in every thing elſe, as far as the Conduct not only of our Lives, but our Governments. And whether the greateſt of mortal Men ſhould attempt the forcing of Nature, may beſt be judged, by obſerving how ſeldom God Almighty does it Himſelf, by ſo few true and undiſputed Miracles, as we ſee or hear of in the World. For my own part, I know not three wiſer Precepts for the Conduct either of Princes or private Men, than

--------*Servare Modum, Finemq; tueri, Naturamq; ſequi.*

Becauſe I take the Garden I have named, to have been in all kinds the moſt beautiful and perfect, at leaſt in the Figure and Diſpoſition, that I have ever ſeen, I will deſcribe it for a Model to thoſe that meet with ſuch a Situation, and are above the regards of common Expence: It lies on the ſide of a Hill, (upon which the Houſe ſtands) but not very ſteep. The length of the Houſe, where the beſt Rooms, and of moſt uſe or pleaſure are, lies upon the breadth of the Garden, the great Parlour opens into the middle of a Terras Gravel-walk that lies even with it, and which may be as I remember about three hundred Paces long, and broad in Proportion, the Border ſet with Standard Lawrels, and at large diſtances, which have the Beauty of Orange-Trees out of Flower and Fruit; from this Walk are three Deſcents by many ſtone Steps in the middle and at each end, into a very large Parterre. This is divided into Quarters by Gravel Walks, and adorned with two Fountains and eight Statues

tues in the ſeveral Quarters; at the end of the Terras Walk are two Summer-Houſes, and the ſides of the Parterre are ranged with two large Cloyſters open to the Garden, upon Arches of Stone, and ending with two other Summer-Houſes even with the Cloyſters, which are paved with Stone, and deſigned for Walks of Shade, there being none other in the whole Parterre. Over theſe two Cloyſters are two Terraſſes covered with Lead, and fenced with Baluſters, and the Paſſage into theſe airy Walks is out of the two Summer-Houſes at the end of the firſt Terras-walk. The Cloyſter facing the South is covered with Vines, and would have been proper for an Orange-houſe, and the other for Myrtles, or other more common Greens, and had, I doubt not, been caſt for that purpoſe, if this piece of Gardning had been then in as much Vogue as it is now.

From the middle of this Parterre is a deſcent by many ſteps flying on each ſide of a Grotto that lies between them (covered with Lead and Flat) into the lower Garden, which is all Fruit-trees ranged about the ſeveral Quarters of a Wilderneſs which is very ſhady; the

Walks here are all green, the Grotto imbeliſh'd with Figures of Shell Rock-work, Fountains and Water-works. If the Hill had not ended with the lower Garden, and the Wall were not bounded by a common way that goes through the Park, they might have added a third Quarter of all Greens; but this want is ſupplied by a Garden on the other ſide the Houſe, which is all of that ſort, very wild, ſhady, and adorned with rough Rock-work and Fountains.

This was *Moor-Park*, when I was acquainted with it, and the ſweeteſt place, I think, that I have ſeen in my Life, either before or ſince, at home or abroad; what it is now I can give little account, having paſſed through ſeveral hands that have made great Changes in Gardens as well as Houſe; but the remembrance of what it was, is too pleaſant ever to forget, and therefore I do not believe to have miſtaken the Figure of it, which may ſerve for a Pattern to the beſt Gardens of our manner, and that are moſt proper for our Country and Climat.

What

What I have ſaid of the beſt Forms of Gardens, is meant only of ſuch as are in ſome ſort regular; for there may be other Forms wholly irregular, that may, for ought I know, have more Beauty than any of the others; but they muſt owe it to ſome extraordinary diſpoſitions of Nature in the Seat, or ſome great race of Fancy or Judgment in the Contrivance, which may reduce many diſagreeing parts into ſome Figure, which ſhall yet upon the whole, be very agreeable. Something of this I have ſeen in ſome places, but heard more of it from others, who have lived much among the *Chineſes*; a People, whoſe way of thinking, ſeems to lie as wide of ours in *Europe*, as their Country does. Among us, the Beauty of Building and Planting is placed chiefly, in ſome certain Proportions, Symmetries, or Uniformities; our Walks and our Trees ranged ſo, as to anſwer one another, and at exact Diſtances. The *Chineſes* ſcorn this way of Planting, and ſay a Boy that can tell an hundred, may plant Walks of Trees in ſtrait Lines, and over againſt one another, and to what Length and Extent He pleaſes. But their greateſt reach of Imagination, is employed

ployed in contriving Figures, where the Beauty ſhall be great, and ſtrike the Eye, but without any order or diſpoſition of parts, that ſhall be commonly or eaſily obſerv'd. And though we have hardly any Notion of this ſort of Beauty, yet they have a particular Word to expreſs it; and where they find it hit their Eye at firſt ſight, they ſay the *Sharawadgi* is fine or is admirable, or any ſuch expreſſion of Eſteem. And whoever obſerves the Work upon the beſt Indian Gowns, or the painting upon their beſt Skreens or Purcellans, will find their Beauty is all of this kind (that is) without order. But I ſhould hardly adviſe any of theſe Attempts in the Figure of Gardens among us; they are Adventures of too hard atchievement for any common Hands; and though there may be more Honour if they ſucceed well, yet there is more Diſhonour if they fail, and 'tis twenty to one they will; whereas in regular Figures, 'tis hard to make any great and remarkable Faults.

The Picture I have met with, in ſome relations of a Garden made by a Dutch Governor of their Colony, upon the Cape *de Buen Eſperance* is admirable, and deſcribed to be of an Oblong-Figure, very

very large Extent, and divided into four Quarters by long and croſs Walks, ranged with all ſorts of Orange-trees, Lemmons, Limes, and Citrons; each of theſe four Quarters is planted with the Trees, Fruits, Flowers and Plants that are native and proper to each of the four parts of the World; ſo as in this one Incloſure are to be found the ſeveral Gardens of *Europe*, *Aſia*, *Africk*, and *America*. There could not be in my mind, a greater Thought of a Gardner, nor a nobler Idea of a Garden, nor better ſuited or choſen for the Climat, which is about Thirty Degrees, and may paſs for the *Heſperides* of our Age, whatever or where-ever the other was. Yet this is agreed by all to have been in the Iſlands or Continent upon the South-Weſt of *Africa*, but what their Forms or their Fruits were, none that I know, pretend to tell; nor whether their Golden Apples were for taſte, or only for ſight, as thoſe of *Montezuma* were in *Mexico*, who had large Trees with Stocks, Branches, Leafs and Fruits, all admirably compoſed and wrought of Gold; but this was only ſtupendious in coſt and art, and anſwers not at all in my

my Opinion, the delicious Varieties of Nature in other Gardens.

What I have ſaid of Gardning, is perhaps enough for any Gentleman to know, ſo as to make no great Faults, nor be much impoſed upon, in the Deſigns of that kind, which I think ought to be applauded and encouraged in all Countries. That and building being a ſort of Creation, that raiſe beautiful Fabricks and Figures out of nothing, that make the Convenience and Pleaſure of all private Habitations, that employ many Hands, and circulate much Mony among the poorer ſort and Artizans, that are a Publick Service to ones Country, by the Example as well as effect, which adorn the Scene, improve the Earth, and even the Air it ſelf in ſome Degree. The reſt that belongs to this Subject, muſt be a Gardners part, upon whoſe Skill, Diligence and Care, the Beauty of the Grounds, and Excellence of the Fruits will much depend. Though if the Soyl and Sorts be well choſen, well ſuited, and diſpoſed to the Walls, the Ignorance or Careleſneſs of the Servants can hardly leave the Maſter diſappointed.

I will not enter further upon His Trade, than to adviſe Him in all Plantations either for His Maſter or Himſelf, to draw his Trees out of ſome Nurſery that is upon a leaner and lighter Soyl than his own where he removes them; without this care they will not thrive in ſeveral years, perhaps never, and muſt make way for new, which ſhould be avoided all that can be; for Life is too ſhort and uncertain, to be renewing often your Plantations. The Walls of your Garden without their Furniture, look as ill as thoſe of your Houſe; ſo that you cannot dig up your Garden too often, nor too ſeldom cut it down.

I may perhaps be allowed to know ſomething of this Trade, ſince I have ſo long allowed my ſelf to be good for nothing elſe, which few Men will do, or enjoy their Gardens, without often looking abroad to ſee how other matters play, what Motions in the State, and what Invitations they may hope for into other Scenes.

For my own part, as the Country Life, and this part of it more particularly, were the Inclination of my Youth it ſelf, ſo they are the Pleaſure of my Age; and I can truly ſay, that among many

many great Employments that have fallen to my ſhare, I have never asked or ſought for any one of them, but have often endeavoured to eſcape from them, into the eaſe and freedom of a private Scene, where a Man may go his own way and his own Pace, in the common Paths or Circles of Life.

Inter cuncta leges & percunctabere doctos
Qua ratione queas traducere leniter ævum,
Quid curas minuat, quid te tibi reddat amicum,
Quid purè tranquillet, honos an dulce lucellum,
An ſecretum iter, & fallentis ſemita vitæ.

But above all, the Learned read and ask
By what means you may gently paſs your Age,
What leſſens Care, what makes thee thine own Friend,
What truly calms the Mind, Honour or Wealth,
Or elſe a private path of ſtealing Life.

Theſe are Queſtions that a Man ought at leaſt to ask himſelf, whether he asks others or no, and to chooſe his courſe of Life rather by his own Humour and Tem-

Temper, than by common Accidents, or Advice of Friends, at leaſt if the Spaniſh Proverb be true, That a Fool knows more in his own Houſe than a Wiſe Man in anothers.

The meaſure of chooſing well, is, Whether a Man likes what he has choſen, which I thank God has befallen me; and though among the Follies of my Life, Building and Planting have not been the leaſt, and have coſt me more than I have the confidence to own; yet they have been fully recompenſed by the ſweetneſs and ſatisfaction of this Retreat, where ſince my Reſolution taken of never entring again into any Publick Employments, I have paſſed Five Years without ever going once to Town, though I am almoſt in ſight of it, and have a Houſe there always ready to receive me. Nor has this been any ſort of Affectation, as ſome have thought it, but a meer want of Deſire or Humour to make ſo ſmall a Remove; for when I am in this Corner I can truly ſay with *Horace*,

Me quoties reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
Quid ſentire putas, quid credis amice precare?

Sit

Sit mihi quod nunc eſt etiam minus, ut mihi vivam,
Quod ſupereſt ævi, ſi quid ſupereſſe volent Dii.
Sit bona librorum, & proviſæ frugis in annum
Copia, ne dubiæ fluitem ſpe pendulus horæ,
Hoc ſatis eſt oraſſe Jovem qui donat & aufert.

Me when the cold Digentian *Stream revives,*
What does my Friend believe I think or ask?
Let me yet leſs poſſeſs ſo I may live
What e're of Life remains, unto my ſelf.
May I have Books enough, and one years ſtore
Not to depend upon each doubtful hour;
This is enough of mighty Jove *to pray,*
Who as He pleaſes gives and takes away.

That which makes the Cares of Gardning more neceſſary, or at leaſt more excuſable, is that all Men eat Fruit that can get it, ſo as the choice is only whether one will eat good or ill, and between theſe the difference is not greater, in point of taſt and delicacy, than it is of Health: For the firſt I will only ſay, That whoever has uſed to eat good, will

will do very great penance when he comes to ill: And for the other, I think nothing is more evident, than as ill or unripe Fruit is extreamly unwholſom, and cauſes ſo many untimely deaths, or ſo much ſickneſs about Autumn, in all great Cities where 'tis greedily ſold as well as eaten, ſo no part of Dyet, in any ſeaſon, is ſo healthful, ſo natural, and ſo agreeable to the Stomach, as good and well ripened Fruits; for this I make the meaſure of their being good; and let the kinds be what they will, if they will not ripen perfectly in our Clymat, they are better never planted or never eaten. I can ſay it for my ſelf at leaſt, and all my Friends, that the ſeaſon of Summer Fruits is ever the ſeaſon of health with us, which I reckon from the beginning of *June* to the end of *September*, and for all Sickneſſes of the Stomach (from which moſt others are judged to proceed) I do not think any that are like me, the moſt ſubject to them, ſhall complain, when ever they eat thirty or forty Cherries before Meals, or the like proportion of white Figs, ſoft Peaches, or grapes perfectly ripe. But theſe after *Michaelmas* I do not think wholſom with us, unleſs attended

by ſome fit of hot and dry Weather more than is uſual after that Seaſon; When the Froſts or the Rain have taken them, they grow dangerous, and nothing but the Autumn and Winter Pears, are to be reckoned in ſeaſon, beſides Apples, which, with Cherries are of all others, the moſt innocent Food, and perhaps the beſt Phyſick. Now whoever will be ſure to eat good Fruit, muſt do it out of a Garden of His own; for beſides the choice ſo neceſſary in the ſorts, the ſoyl, and ſo many other circumſtances that go to compoſe a good Garden, or produce good Fruits, there is ſomething very nice in gathering them, and chooſing the beſt even from the ſame Tree. The beſt ſorts of all among us, which I eſteem the white Figs and the ſoft Peaches, will not carry without ſuffering. The beſt Fruit that is bought, has no more of the Maſters care, than how to raiſe the greateſt gains; His buſineſs is to have as much Fruit as He can, upon as few Trees, whereas the way to have it excellent, is to have but little upon many Trees. So that for all things out of a Garden, either of Sallads or Fruits, a Poor Man will eat better,

that

that has one of His own, than a Rich Man that has none. And this is all I think of neceſſary and uſeful to be known upon this Subject.

ESSAY III.

Of Heroick Virtue.

AMONG all the Endowments of Nature, or Improvements of Art, wherein Men have excelled and diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in the World, there are two only, that have had the honour of being called Divine, and of giving that Eſteem or Appellation to ſuch as poſſeſſed them in very eminent Degrees, which are, Heroick Virtue, and Poetry: For Prophecy cannot be eſteemed any Excellency of Nature or of Art, but whereever it is true, is an immediate Gift of God, and beſtowed according to His Pleaſure, and upon Subjects of the meaneſt capacity, upon Women or Children, or even things inanimate, as the Stones placed in the High-Prieſt's Breaſt-Plate, among the

Jews, which was a ſacred Oracle among them.

I will leave Poetry to an Eſſay by it ſelf, and dedicate this only to that antiquated Shrine of Heroick Virtue, which however forgotten, or unknown in later Ages, muſt yet be allowed, to have produced in the World, the advantages moſt valued among Men, and which moſt diſtinguiſh their Underſtandings and their Lives, from the reſt of their fellow Creatures.

Though it be eaſier to deſcribe Heroick Virtue, by the Effects and Examples, than by Cauſes or Definitions, yet it may be ſaid to ariſe, from ſome great and native Excellency of Temper or Genius tranſcending the common race of Mankind, in Wiſdom, Goodneſs and Fortitude. Theſe ingredients advantaged by Birth, improved by Education, and aſſiſted by Fortune, ſeem to make that noble compoſition, which gives ſuch a luſtre to thoſe who have poſſeſt it, as made them appear to common eyes, ſomething more than Mortals, and to have been born of ſome mixture, between Divine and Humane Race; To have been honoured and obeyed in their Lives, and after their Deaths bewailed and adored.

The

The greatneſs of their Wiſdom appeared in the Excellency of their Inventions; And theſe by the Goodneſs of their Nature, were turned and exerciſed upon ſuch Subjects, as were of general good to Mankind in the common uſes of life, or to their own Countries in the Inſtitutions of ſuch Laws, Orders or Governments, as were of moſt eaſe, ſafety and advantage to Civil Society. Their Valour was imployed, in defending their own Countries from the violence of ill Men at home, or Enemies abroad, in reducing their barbarous Neighbours to the ſame forms and orders of Civil Lives and Inſtitutions; or in relieving others, from the Cruelties and Oppreſſions of Tyranny and Violence. Theſe are all comprehended, in three Verſes of *Virgil*, deſcribing the bleſſed Seats in *Elyſium*, and thoſe that enjoyed them.

Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera paſſi,
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
Quique ſui memores alios fecere merendo.

Here ſuch, as for their Country wounds receiv'd,
Or who by Arts invented, Life improv'd,
Or by deſerving made themſelves remembred.

And indeed, the Character of Heroick Virtue ſeems to be in ſhort, The deſerving well of Mankind. Where this is chief in deſign, and great in ſucceſs, the pretence to a Hero lies very fair, and can never be allowed without it.

I have ſaid, that this Excellency of Genius muſt be native, becauſe it can never grow to any great heigth, if it be only acquired or affected; but it muſt be ennobled by Birth, to give it more Luſtre, Eſteem and Authority; it muſt be cultivated by Education and Inſtruction, to improve its growth, and direct its end and application; and it muſt be aſſiſted by Fortune, to preſerve it to maturity; becauſe the nobleſt Spirit or Genius in the World, if it falls, though never ſo bravely, in its firſt enterpriſes, cannot deſerve enough of Mankind, to pretend to ſo great a reward as the eſteem of Heroick Virtue. And yet perhaps, many a perſon has dyed in the firſt battle or adventure he atchieved,

and

and lies buried in ſilence and oblivion, who had he out-lived as many dangers as *Alexander* did, might have ſhined as bright in Honour and Fame. Now ſince ſo many Stars go to the making up of this Conſtellation, 'tis no wonder it has ſo ſeldom appeared in the World; nor that when it does, it is received and followed with ſo much gazing, and ſo much veneration.

Among the ſimpler Ages or Generations of Men, in ſeveral Countries, Thoſe who were the firſt Inventers of Arts generally received and applauded, as moſt neceſſary or uſeful to human life, were honoured alive, and after death worſhipped as Gods. And ſo were thoſe who had been the firſt Authors of any good, and well inſtituted Civil Government in any Country, by which, the native Inhabitants were reduced from ſavage and brutiſh lives, to the ſafety and convenience of Societies, the enjoyment of Property, the obſervance of Orders, and the obedience of Laws, which were followed by Security, Plenty, Civility, Riches, Induſtry and all kinds of Arts. The evident advantages and common benefits of theſe ſorts of Inſtitutions, made People generally inclined at home

to

to obey ſuch Governors, the Neighbour Nations to eſteem them, and thereby, willingly enter into their Protection, or eaſily yield to the force of their Arms and Proweſs. Thus Conqueſts began to be made in the World, and upon the ſame deſigns, of reducing Barbarous Nations unto Civil and well Regulated Conſtitutions and Governments, and of ſubduing thoſe by force to obey them, who refuſed to accept willingly the advantages of Life or condition, that were thereby offered them. Such Perſons of old, who excelling in thoſe Vertues, were attended by theſe fortunes, and made great and famous Conqueſts, and left them under good Conſtitutions of Laws and Governments; Or who inſtituted excellent and laſting orders and frames of any Political State, in what compaſs ſoever of Country, or under what Names ſoever of Civil Government, were obeyed as Princes or Law-givers in their own times, and were called in after Ages, by the name of Heroes.

From theſe ſources, I believe may be deduced all or moſt of the Theology or Idolatry, of all the ancient Pagan Countries, within the compaſs of the

Four

Four great Empires, ſo much renowned in Story, and perhaps of ſome others, as great in their Conſtitutions, and as extended in their Conqueſts, though not ſo much celebrated or obſerved by Learned Men.

From all I can gather, upon the Surveys of ancient Story, I am apt to conclude, that *Saturn* was a King of *Crete*, and expelled that Kingdom by his Son. That *Jupiter* having driven out his Father from *Crete*, conquered *Greece*, or at leaſt the *Peloponeſus*; and having among thoſe Inhabitants, introduced the uſe of Agriculture, of Property and Civility, and eſtabliſhed a juſt and regular Kingdom, was by them adored as chief of their Gods.

Ante Jovem nullî ſubigerunt arva coloni.

That His Brothers, Siſters, Sons, and Daughters, were worſhipped likewiſe, for the inventions of things chiefly uſeful, neceſſary, or agreeable to Humane Life. So *Neptune*, for the art or improvement of Navigation; *Vulcan*, for that of Forging Braſs and Iron; *Minerva*, of Spinning; *Apollo*, of Muſick and

and Poetry; *Mercury*, of Manual Arts and Merchandiſe; *Bacchus*, for the invention of Wine; and *Ceres* of Corn.

I do not find any traces left, by which a probable conjecture may be made of the Age, wherein this race of *Saturn* flouriſhed in the World, nor conſequently, what length of time they were adored; for as to *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, it is generally agreed, that there were more than one or two of thoſe Names, in very different times, and perhaps Countries, as *Greece* and *Egypt*, and that the laſt, who was Son of *Alcmena*, and one of the *Argonants*, was very modern, in reſpect of the other more ancient, who was contemporary with the race of *Jupiter*. But the Story of that *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, who are ſaid to have Conquered *India*, is grown too obſcure, by the dark ſhades of ſo great Antiquity, or diſguiſed by the mask of Fables, and Fiction of Poets.

The ſame divine Honours were rendered by the *Ægyptians* to *Oſyris*, in whoſe Temple was inſcribed on a Pillar, that he had gone through all Countries, and every where taught Men all that he found neceſſary for the common

mon good of Mankind, By the *Aſſyrians*, to *Belus*, the Founder of that Kingdom, and great Inventor or Improver of Aſtronomy, among the *Chaldæans*, By the Original *Latins* or *Hetruſcans*, to *Janus*, who introduced Agriculture into *Italy*; and theſe Three were worſhipped as Gods, by thoſe ancient and Learned Nations.

Ninus and *Seſoſtris*, were renowned for their mighty Conqueſts, and eſteemed the two great Heroes of *Aſſyria* and of *Egypt*; the firſt, having extended his Victories, to the River *Indus*, and the other, thoſe of the *Ægyptians*, over *Aſia*, as far as *Pontus*. The time of *Ninus* is controverted among Hiſtorians, being by ſome placed, Thirteen, by others, Eight Hundred Years before *Sardanapalus*: But that of *Seſoſtris*, is in my opinion, much harder to be affirmed. For I do not ſee, how their opinion can be allowed, who make him to be *Seſack*, that took *Jeruſalem* in the time of *Rehoboam*, ſince no more is ſaid in Scripture, of the progreſs of that Expedition: Nor is the time of it mentioned in the *Græcian* Story, though ſome Records are there found, of all that paſſed after the *Trojan* War, and

with

with distinction enough. But the most ancient among them, speak of the Reign of *Sesostris*, and His mighty Conquests, as very ancient then, and agree the Kingdom of *Cholcos*, to have descended from a Colony there Established by this famous King, as a Monument how far Northward his Victories had extended. Now this Kingdom flourished in the time of the *Argonauts*, and excelled in those Arts of Magick and Enchantments, which they were thought to have brought with them out of *Egypt*; so as I think the Story of this King must be reckoned as almost covered with the Ruins of Time.

The two next Heroes that enter the Scene, are the *Theban Hercules*, and *Theseus*, both renowned among the *Greeks*, for freeing their Country from Fierce Wild Beasts, or from fiercer and wilder Men that infested them; from Robbers and Spoilers, or from cruel and Lawless Tyrants. *Theseus* was besides honoured as Founder of the more Civil State or Kingdom of *Athens*, which City first began to flourish and grow great by his Institutions, though His Father had been King of the Scattered Villages or Inhabitants of *Attica*.

In

In the ſame Age, flouriſhed *Minos* King of *Crete*, reputed to be Son of *Jupiter*, who by the force and number of his Fleets, became Lord of the *Ægæan* Iſlands, and moſt of the Coaſts of *Greece*, and was renowned as a Heroe, for the juſtneſs of his Laws, and the greatneſs of his Reign.

For the Heroes, in the time of the *Trojan* Wars, ſo much celebrated in thoſe two charming Poems, which from them were called Heroical, though 'tis eaſy to take their Characters from thoſe admirable Pictures drawn of them by *Homer* and *Virgil*, yet 'tis hard to find them in the Relations of any Authentick Story. That which may be obſerved, is, that all the Conduct and Courage of Hector, were imployed in the defence of His Country and his Father againſt a Foreign Invaſion: The valour of *Achilles* was exerciſed in the common cauſe, wherein his whole Nation were engaged upon the fatal Revenge of the Rape of *Helen*, though he had been aſſured by certain Prophecies, that he ſhould dye before the Walls of *Troy*; and *Æneas*, having imployed His utmoſt Proweſs in defence of his Country, ſaved his Father and the *Trojan* Gods, gathered

thered up the Remainders of his Ruined Country, ſailed to *Italy*, and there Founded a Kingdom; which gave riſe to the Greateſt Empire of the World.

About Two Hundred and Fifty Years after theſe, *Lycurgus* inſtituted the *Spartan* State, upon Laws and Orders ſo different from thoſe uſual in thoſe Times and Countries, that more than Humane Authority ſeemed neceſſary to eſtabliſh them; and the *Pythian* Prieſteſs told him, ſhe did not know whether ſhe ſhould call Him a God or a Man. And indeed no Civil or Politick Conſtitutions have been more celebrated than His, by the beſt Authors of ancient Story and Times.

The next Heroes we meet with upon Record, were *Romulus* and *Numa*, of which the firſt, Founded the *Roman* City and State, and the other, Poliſhed the Civil and Religious Orders of both in ſuch a degree, that the Original Inſtitutions of theſe two Lawgivers continued as long as that Glorious State.

The next Heroe that came upon the Stage, was *Cyrus*, who freed His Country from their Servitude to the *Medes*, erected the *Perſian* Empire upon the Ruins

ruins of the *Aſſyrian*; adorned it with excellent Conſtitutions and Laws, and extended it Weſtward, by the Conqueſt of all the Leſſer *Aſia* and *Lydia*, to the very Coaſts of the *Ægean* Sea. Whether the Picture of *Cyrus* drawn by *Xenophon*, be after the life, or only imaginary, we may find in it the trueſt Character that can be given of Heroick Virtue: And 'tis certain, His Memory was always ſacred among the *Perſians*, though not proſecuted by Divine Honours, becauſe that Nation adored one Supream God, without any Repreſentation or Idol; and in the next place the Sun, to whom alone they offered Sacrifices.

Alexander, was the next, renowned in Story, having founded the *Grecian* Monarchy, by the entire Conqueſt of the *Perſian*, and extended it, by the addition of *Greec* eand *Macedon*. But he attained not the eſteem or appellation of an Heroe, though He affected and courted it by His Mother's Stories of His Birth, and by the Flatteries of the Prieſt and Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*. His pretence was juſtly excluded, by His Intemperance in Wine, in Anger, and in Luſt, and more yet by His Cruelties and

His Pride; for true Honour has ſomething in it ſo humorous, as to follow commonly thoſe, who avoid or neglect it, rather than thoſe, who ſeek and purſue it. Beſides, He inſtituted no orders or frame of Government, in the Kingdoms either of *Macedon* or *Perſia*; but rather corrupted and diſordered thoſe He found: And ſeems to have owed the ſucceſs of His Enterpriſes, to the Councels and Conduct of His Fathers old Officers, after whoſe diſgrace and fall, immediately ſucceeded that of his Fortune and his Life. Yet he muſt be allowed, to have much contributed to his own Glory and Fame, by a great native Genius and unlimited Bounty, and by the greateſt boldneſs of Enterpriſe, ſcorn of Danger, and fearleſneſs of Death that could be in any Mortal Man. He was a Prodigy of Valour and of Fortune, but whether his Virtues or his Faults were greateſt, is hard to be decided.

Cæſar, who is commonly eſteemed to have been Founder of the *Roman* Empire, ſeems to have poſſeſſed very eminently all the Qualities, both native and acquired, that enter into the Compoſition of an Heroe, but failed of the

Attribute

Attribute or Honour, becauſe He overthrew the Laws of his own Country, and Orders of his State, and raiſed his greatneſs by the Conqueſt of his Fellow Citizens, more than of their Enemies; and after he came to the Empire, lived not to perfect the frame of ſuch a Government, or atchieve ſuch Conqueſts as he ſeems to have had in deſign.

Theſe Four great Monarchies, with the ſmaller Kingdoms, Principalities and States, that were ſwallowed up by their Conqueſts and Extent, make the Subject of what is called Antient Story, and are ſo excellently related by the many *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, ſtill extant and in common vogue, ſo commented, enlarged, reduced into order of time and place, by many more of the Modern Writers, that they are known to all Men, who profeſs to ſtudy or entertain themſelves with Reading. The Orders and Inſtitutions of theſe ſeveral Governments, their progreſs and duration, their ſucceſſes or decays, their events and revolutions, make the common Theams of Schools and Colledges, the Study of Learned, and the Converſation of Idle Men, the Arguments of Hiſtories, Poems and Romances. From

the Actions and Fortunes of these Princes and Law-givers, are drawn the common Examples of Virtue and Honour, the Reproaches of Vice, which are illustrated by the Felicities or Misfortunes that attend them. From the Events and Revolutions of these Governments, are drawn the usual Instructions of Princes and Statesmen, and the Discourses and Reflections of the greatest Wits and Writers upon the Politicks. From the Orders and Institutions, the Laws and Customs of these Empires and States, the Sages of Law and of Justice, in all Countries, endeavour to deduce the very common Laws of Nature and of Nations, as well as the particular Civil or Municipal of Kingdoms and Provinces. From these they draw their Arguments and Presidents in all Disputes concerning the pretended Excellencies or Defaults of the several sorts of Governments that are extolled or decried, accused or defended. Concerning the Rights of War and Peace, of Invasion and Defence between Sovereign Princes, as well as of Authority and Obedience, of Prerogative and Liberty, in Civil Contentions.

Yet the Stage of all theſe Empires and Revolutions, of all theſe Heroick Actions, and theſe famous Conſtitutions, (how great or how wiſe ſoever any of them are eſteemed) is but a limited compaſs of Earth, that leaves out many vaſt Regions of the World, the which, though accounted barbarous, and little taken notice of in Story, or by any celebrated Authors, yet have a right to come in for their Voice, in agreeing upon the Laws of Nature and Nations (for ought I know) as well as the reſt, that have arrogated it wholly to themſelves; and beſides, in my Opinion, there are ſome of them, that upon enquiry, will be found to have equalled or exceeded all the others, in the wiſdom of their Conſtitutions, the extent of their Conqueſts, and the duration of their Empires or States.

The famous Scene of the four great Monarchies, was that midland part of the World, which was bounded on the Eaſt by the River *Indus*, and on the Weſt by the Atlantick Ocean; on the North by the River *Oxus*, the Caſpian and the Euxine Seas, and the *Danube*; on the South by the Mountain *Atlas*, *Æthiopia*, *Arabia*, and from thence to the

Mouth of *Indus*, by the Southern Ocean.

'Tis true, that *Semiramis* and *Alexander* are ſaid to have conquered *India*; but the firſt ſeems only to have ſubdued ſome parts of it that lie upon the Borders of that River; and *Alexander*'s Atchievements there, ſeem rather like a Journey than a Conqueſt; and though He pierced through the Country, from *Indus* to *Ganges*, yet He left even undiſcovered, the greateſt parts of that mighty Region, which, by the Ancients was reported, to contain an hundred and eighteen great and populous Nations, and which, for ought I know, were never conquer'd but by the *Tartars*.

I reckon neither *Scythia* nor *Arabia* for parts of that ancient Scene of Action and Story; for tho *Cyrus* and *Darius* entred the firſt, yet they ſoon left it, one with loſs of His Honour, and the other of his Life. And for *Arabia*, I neither find it was ever conquered, or indeed well diſcovered or ſurveyed, nor much more known, than by the Commerce of their Spices and Perfumes. I mean that part of it, which is called *Arabia Fœlix*, and is environed on three ſides by the Sea; for the Northern

Skirts

Skirts, that joyn to *Syria*, have entred into the Conqueſts or Commerce of the four great Empires; but that which ſeems to have ſecured the other, is the ſtony and ſandy Deſarts, through which no Armies can paſs for want of Water.

Now if we conſider the Map of the World, as it lies at preſent before us, ſince the diſcoveries made by the Navigations of theſe three laſt Centuries, we ſhall eaſily find what vaſt Regions there are, which have been left out of that ancient Scene on all ſides: And tho paſſing for barbarous, they have not been eſteemed worth the Pens of any good Authors, and are known only by common and poor Relations of Traders, Seamen, or Travellers; yet by all I have read, I am inclined to believe that ſome of theſe out-lying Parts of the World, however unknown by the Ancients, and overlookt by the modern Learned, may yet have afforded as much matter of Action and Speculation, as the other Scene ſo much celebrated in Story. I mean not only in their vaſt Extent, and variety of Soiles and Clymats, with their natural Productions, but even in the excellent Conſtitutions of Laws and

Cuſtoms, the wiſe and laſting Foundations of States and Empires, and the mighty Flights of Conqueſts that have riſen from ſuch Orders and Inſtitutions.

Now becauſe the firſt Scene is ſuch a beaten Road, and this ſo little known or traced, I am content to take a ſhort Survey of four great Scheams of Government or Empire, that have ſprung and grown to mighty heights, lived very long, and flouriſhed much in theſe remote (and as we will have it, more ignoble) Regions of the World: Whereof one is at the fartheſt degree of our Eaſtern Longitude, being the Kingdom of *China*; The next is at the fartheſt Weſtern, which is that of *Peru*; The third is the utmoſt of our Northern Latitude, which is *Scythia* or *Tartary*; And the fourth is *Arabia*, which lies very far upon the Southern.

For that vaſt Continent of *Africa*, that extends between Mount *Atlas* and the Southern Ocean; Tho it be found to ſwarm in People, to abound in Gold, to contain many great Kingdoms, and infinite ſmaller Principalities, to be pierced by thoſe two famous Rivers of the *Nile* and the *Niger*, to produce a Race

Race of Men that ſeem hardly of the ſame Species with the reſt of Mankind; Yet I can not find any Traces of that Heroick Virtue, that may entitle them to any ſhare in this Eſſay. For whatever remains in Story of *Atlas*, or His Kingdom of old, is ſo obſcured with Age or Fables, that it may go along with thoſe of the Atlantick Iſlands, tho I know not whether theſe themſelves were by *Solon* or *Plato* intended for Fables or no, or for Relations they had met with among the Egyptian Prieſts, and which perhaps were by them otherwiſe eſteemed.

SECT.

SECT. II.

THE Great and Ancient Kingdom of *China* is bounded to the East and South by the Ocean, to the North by a Stone Wall of twelve Hundred Miles long, raised against the Invasion of the *Tartars*; and to the West, by vast and unpassible Mountains or Desarts, which the Labour or Curiosity of no mortal Man has been ever yet known to have pierced thro or given any account of. When *Alexander* would have passed the River *Ganges*, He was told by the *Indians*, that nothing beyond it was inhabited, and that all was either impassible Marishes, lying between great Rivers, or sandy Desarts, or steep Mountains, full only of Wild Beasts, but wholly destitute of Mankind. So as *Ganges* was esteemed by Ancients the Bound of the Eastern World: Since the use of the Compass, and extent of Navigation, it is found that there are several populous Kingdoms lie between

Ganges

Ganges and the Deſarts or Mountains that divide them from *China*, as *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Cirote*, and others, lie in this ſpace, coaſting along the Borders of Great Rivers Northwards, which are ſaid to run about the length of *Indus* and *Ganges*, and all of them to riſe from one mighty Lake in the Mountains of *Tartary*. But from none of theſe Kingdoms is known any other way of Paſſage or Commerce into *China*, than by Sea.

From *Indoſtan* or the *Mogul*'s Country, there is none other uſual; and ſuch as travel from thence by Land, are forced to go many Degrees Northward before they turn to the Eaſt, to paſs many Savage Kingdoms or Countries of the *Tartars*, to travel through vaſt ſandy Deſarts, and other prodigious high and ſteep Mountains, where no Carriage or Beaſt is able to paſs, but only Men on foot, and over one Mountain particularly, eſteemed the higheſt in the World, where the Air is ſo thin, that Men cannot travel over it without danger of their Lives, and never in Summer without being poyſoned by the Scent of certain Herbs that grow upon it, which is mortal when they are in Flower. After eight or nine Months Journey from the

Mogul's

Mogul's Court, ſeveral Perſons have travelled this Way, till they came to the Wall that defends or divides *China* from *Tartary*, and ſo to the Imperial City of *Peking*, ſituate in the Northern parts of this mighty Region, which the *Chineſe* call a World by it ſelf, and eſteem themſelves the only reaſonable and civilized People, having no Neighbours on three ſides, and to the North only the *Tartars*, whom they eſteem but another ſort of wild or bruitiſh Men; and therefore they ſay in common Proverb, That the *Chineſes* only ſee with two Eyes, and all other Men but with one.

By this Situation, and by a Cuſtom or Law very ancient among them, of ſuffering no Stranger to come into their Country, or if they do, not permitting Him to go out, or return any more to His own, this vaſt Continent continued very long and wholly unknown to the reſt of the World, and for as much as I can find, was firſt diſcovered to us by *Paulus Venetus*, who about four hundred years ago made a Voyage from *Venice*, thro' *Armenia*, *Perſia*, and ſeveral parts of *Tartary*, to that which He names the Kingdom of *Cataya*, and to the famous City of *Cambalu*, (as he calls them) and after

after ſeventeen years reſidence of His Father and Himſelf, in that Court of the great *Cham*, returned to *Venice*, and left the World a large Account of this Voyage.

Since His time, and within two or three hundred years ſeveral Miſſionary Friers and Jeſuits have upon Devotion or Command of their Superiors, pierced with infinite pains and dangers thro' theſe vaſt and ſavage Regions, ſome from the *Mogul's* Country, ſome thro' *Armenia* and *Perſia*, and arrived at *Peking*, which I make no queſtion, (by comparing all their ſeveral Accounts and Relations) is the ſame famous City that is called *Cambalu* by *Paulus Venetus*, ſeated in the Northern Provinces of *China*, which is by Him called *Cataya*. The reaſon of this difference in Names, was that when *Paulus Venetus* was there, the *Cham* of Eaſt *Tartary*, called *Cataya*, had poſſeſſed Himſelf by Conqueſt, of ſeveral Northern Provinces of *China*, as well as that of *Peking*, where He made His Reſidence, and which was like the reſt of His Empire, called *Cataya*, and the chief City *Cambalu*, by a *Tartar* Name. After ſome time all theſe Provinces were again recovered by the

Chineſes,

Chineſes from the *Tartars*, and returned to their old *Chineſe* Appellations; and the King of *China*, who then expelled the *Tartars*, fixed the Seat of His Empire at *Peking*, (which had been formerly at *Nanking* and at *Quinſay*) that the Force of His Armies lying thereabouts, might be ready to defend that Frontier againſt the furious Invaſions of the *Tartars*, whereof they had ſeveral times felt the rage and danger.

After this recovery, *China* continued in Peace, and proſperous, under their own Emperors, till about the year 1616, when the *Tartars* again invaded them, and after a long and bloody War, of above thirty years, in the end made themſelves abſolute Maſters of the whole Kingdom, and ſo it has ever ſince continued.

This Region, commonly known by the name of *China*, extends about eighteen hundred Miles, or thirty Degrees of Northern and Southern Latitude. It is not eſteemed ſo much of Longitude, but this is more uncertain, the Journey thro' the whole Country from Eaſt to Weſt having not, that I find, been ever performed by any European; and the accounts taken only from report of the

the Natives. Nor is it eaſily agreed, where, the habitable parts of *China* determine Weſtward, ſince ſome Authors ſay, they end in Mountains, ſtored only with wild Beaſts and wild Men, that have neither Laws nor Language, nor other commerce with the *Chineſes*, than by deſcents ſometimes made upon them, for Rapines or for Rapes; And other Authors ſay, There are ſuch inacceſſible Mountains even in the midſt of *China*, ſo as the firſt accounts, may have left out great Countries beyond theſe Mountains, which they took for the utmoſt Border of this Kingdom.

Whatever length it has, which by none is eſteemed leſs, than twelve or thirteen hundred miles; It muſt be allowed, to be the greateſt, richeſt and moſt populous Kingdom, now known in the World, and will perhaps be found to owe its Riches, Force, Civility and Felicity, to the admirable conſtitution of it's Government more than any other.

This Empire conſiſts of fifteen ſeveral Kingdoms, which at leaſt have been ſo of old, tho now governed as Provinces, by their ſeveral Vice-roys, who yet live in Greatneſs, Splendor, and Riches,

Riches, equal to great and Sovereign Kings. In the whole Kingdom, are one hundred and forty five capital Cities, of mighty extent and magnificent Building, and one thouſand three hundred twenty and one leſſer Cities, but all walled round; The number of Villages is infinite, and no Country in the known World ſo full of Inhabitants, nor ſo improved by Agriculture, by infinite growth of numerous Commodities, by Canals of incredible length, conjunctions of Rivers, convenience of Ways, for the tranſportation of all ſorts of Goods and Commodities from one Province to another, ſo as no Country has ſo great trade, tho till very lately, they never had any but among themſelves, and what there is now foreign among them, is not driven by the *Chineſes* going out of their Country to manage it, but only by their permiſſion of the *Portugueſes* and *Dutch*, to come and trade in ſome skirts of their Southern Provinces.

For Teſtimonies of their Greatneſs, I ſhall only add what is agreed of their famous Wall, and of their City *Peking*. The Stone-wall which divides the Northern parts of *China* from *Tartary*, is reckoned

reckoned by ſome, twelve, by others, nine hundred miles long, running over Rocks and Hills, through Mariſhes and Deſerts, and making way for Rivers by mighty Arches; It is forty five foot high, and twenty foot thick at the bottom, divided at certain ſpaces by great Towers. It was built above two thouſand years ago, but with ſuch admirable Architecture, that where ſome Gaps have not been broken down by the *Tartars* upon their Irruptions, the reſt is ſtill as intire, as when it was firſt built. The King that raiſed this Wall, appointed a Million of Soldiers, who were liſted and paid, for the defence of it againſt the *Tartars*, and took their turns by certain numbers, at certain times, for the guard of this Frontier.

The Imperial City of *Peking* is nothing ſo large as ſeveral other Cities of *China* (whereof *Nanking* is eſteemed the greateſt) but is a regular Four-Square; the Wall of each ſide is ſix Miles in length. In each of theſe ſides are three Gates, and on each ſide of each Gate are great Palaces or Forts for the Guards belonging to them, which are a thouſand Men to each Gate. The Streets run quite croſs, with a

thro View and Paſſage from each Gate to that which is over againſt it in the oppoſite ſide, and theſe Streets are ranged full of ſtately Houſes.

The Palace of the Emperor is three Miles in Compaſs, conſiſting of three Courts, one within the other, whereof the laſt (where the Emperor lodges) is four hundred paces ſquare. The other two are filled with His Domeſticks, Officers and Guards, to the number of ſixteen thouſand Perſons. Without theſe Courts, are large and delicious Gardens, many artificial Rocks and Hills, Streams of Rivers drawn into ſeveral Canals faced with ſquare Stone, and the whole atchieved with ſuch admirable Invention, Coſt and Workmanſhip, that nothing ancient or modern ſeems to come near it; and all ſerved with ſuch Magnificence, order and Splendour, that the Audience of a Foreign Ambaſſadour at *Peking*, ſeems a ſight as Great and Noble, as one of the Triumphs at *Rome*.

As other Nations are uſually diſtinguiſhed into Noble and Plebeian, ſo that of *China* may be diſtinguiſh'd into Learned and Illiterate. The laſt makes up the Body or Maſs of the People who are

are govern'd; the firſt comprehends all the Magiſtrates that govern, and thoſe who may in time or courſe ſucceed them in the Magiſtracy; for no other than the Learned are ever employed in the Government, nor any in the greateſt Charges, that are not of thoſe Ranks or Degrees of Learning, that make them termed Sages, or Philoſophers, or Doctors among them.

But to comprehend what this Government of *China* is, and what the Perſons employed in it, there will be a neceſſity of knowing what their Learning is, and how it makes them fit for Government, very contrary to what ours in *Europe* is obſerved to do, and the reaſon of ſuch different effects from the ſame Cauſe.

The two great Heroes of the *Chineſe* Nation were *Fohu* and *Confuchu*, whoſe Memories have always continued among them Sacred and Adored. *Fohu* lived about four thouſand years ago, and was the firſt Founder of their Kingdom, the progreſs whereof has ever ſince continued upon their Records ſo clear, that they are eſteemed by the Miſſionary Jeſuits unqueſtionable and infallible. For after the Death of

every King, the Succeſſor appoints certain Perſons to write the Memorable Actions of His Predeceſſors Reign, and of theſe, an Epitome is afterwards drawn, and entred into their Regiſters. *Fohu* firſt reduced them from the common Original Lives of Mankind, introduced Agriculture, Wedlock, diſtinction of Sexes by different Habits, Laws and Orders of Government; He invented Characters, and left ſeveral ſhort Tables or Writings of Aſtronomy, or Obſervations of the Heavens, of Morality, of Phyſick, and Political Government. The Characters He uſed ſeem to have been parly ſtrait Lines of different Lengths, and diſtinguiſh'd by different points; and partly Hieroglyphicks, and theſe in time were followed by Characters, of which each expreſſed one word.

In theſe ſeveral ways, were for many Centuries, compoſed many Books, among the *Chineſes*, in many ſorts of Learning, eſpecially Natural and Moral Philoſophy, Aſtronomy, Aſtrology, Phyſick and Agriculture.

Something above two thouſand years ago, lived *Confuchu*, the moſt learned, wiſe and vertuous of all the *Chineſes*, and for whom

whom, both the King and Magiſtrates, in His own age, and all of them, in the Ages ſince, ſeem to have had the greateſt Deference, that has any where been rendred to any Mortal Man. He writ many Tracts, and in them digeſted all the Learning of the Ancients even from the firſt Writing or Tables of *Fohu*, at leaſt, all that He thought neceſſary or uſeful to Mankind, in their perſonal, civil or political Capacities, which were then received and ſince proſecuted, with ſo great Eſteem and Veneration, that none has queſtioned whatever He writ, but admitted it, as the trueſt and beſt Rules of Opinion and Life, ſo that 'tis enough in all Argument, That *Confuchu* has ſaid it.

Some time after, lived a King, who to raiſe a new Period of Time, from His own Name and Reign, endeavoured to aboliſh the Memory of all that had paſſed before Him, and cauſed all Books to be burnt, except thoſe of Phyſick and Agriculture. Out of this ruin to Learning, eſcaped, either by chance, or ſome private Induſtry, the Epitomes or Regiſters of the ſeveral ſucceſſions of their Kings ſince *Fohu*, and the works of *Confuchu*, or at leaſt a part of them, which have lately in *France*,

been printed in the Latin Tongue, with a learned Preface, by ſome of the Miſſionary Jeſuits, under the Title of the Works of *Confutius*.

After the death of this Tyrannous and Ambitious King, Theſe Writings came abroad, and being the only Remainders of the Ancient *Chineſe* Learning, were received with general Applauſe, or rather Veneration; Four Learned Men having long addicted themſelves to the Study of theſe Books, writ four ſeveral Tracts or Comments upon them; and one of the ſucceeding Kings made a Law, that no other Learning ſhould be taught, ſtudied or exerciſed but what was extracted out of theſe five Books; and ſo Learning has ever ſince continued in *China*, wholly confined to the Writings of theſe five Men, or rather to thoſe of their Prince of Philoſophers, the great and renowned *Confutius*.

The Sum of His Writings, ſeems to be a Body or Digeſtion of Ethicks, that is, of all Moral Vertues, either Perſonal, Oeconomical, Civil or Political, and framed for the Inſtitution and Conduct of Mens Lives, their Families, and their Governments, but chiefly of the

laſt;

laſt; the bent of His thoughts and reaſonings, running up and down this Scale, that no People can be happy but under good Governments, and no Governments happy but over good Men; and that for the Felicity of Mankind, all Men in a Nation, from the Prince to the meaneſt Peaſant, ſhould endeavour to be good and wiſe and vertuous as far as His own Thoughts, the Precepts of others, or the Laws of His Country, can inſtruct Him.

The chief Principle He ſeems to lay down for a Foundation, and builds upon, is, That every Man ought to ſtudy and endeavour the improving and perfecting of His own Natural Reaſon, to the greateſt height He is capable, ſo as He may never (or as ſeldom as can be) err and ſwerve from the Law of Nature, in the courſe and conduct of His Life: That this being not to be done, without much thought, enquiry and dilgence, makes Study and Philoſophy neceſſary, which teaches Men what is good, and what is bad, either in its own Nature or for theirs, and conſequently what is to be done and what to be avoided, by every Man in His ſeveral Station or Capacity. That in

this perfection of Natural Reaſon, conſiſts the perfection of Body and Mind, and the utmoſt or ſupream Happineſs of Mankind. That the means and rules to attain this perfection, are chiefly not to will or deſire any thing but what is conſonant to this Natural Reaſon, nor any thing that is not agreeable to the good and happineſs of other men, as well as our own. To this end is preſcribed, the conſtant courſe and practice of the ſeveral Vertues, known and agreed ſo generally in the World, among which, Courteſy or Civility, and Gratitude, are Cardinal with them. In ſhort, the whole ſcope of all *Confutius* has writ, ſeems aimed only, at teaching Men to live well, and to govern well, how Parents, Maſters and Magiſtrates ſhould rule, and how Children, Servants and Subjects ſhould obey.

All this, with the many particular Rules and Inſtructions, for either perſonal, œconomical, or political Wiſdom and Vertue is diſcourſed by Him, with great Compaſs of Knowledge, Excellence of Senſe, Reach of Wit, and illuſtrated with Elegance of Stile, and Aptneſs of Similitudes and Examples, as may be eaſily conceived by any, that

can

can allow for the lameneſs and ſhortneſs of Tranſlations out of Language and Manners of writing, infinitely differing from ours So as the Man appears to have been of a very extraordinary Genius, of mighty Learning, admirable Vertue, excellent Nature, a true Patriot of His Country, and Lover of Mankind.

This is the Learning of the *Chineſes*, and all other ſorts are either diſuſed or ignoble among them; all that which we call Scholaſtick or Polemick, is unknown or unpractiſed, and ſerves, I fear, among us, for little more, than to raiſe Doubts and Diſputes, Heats and Feuds, Animoſities and Factions, in all Controverſies of Religion or Government. Even Aſtrology and Phyſick and Chymiſtry, are but ignoble Studies, tho there are many among them that excel in all theſe; and the Aſtrologers are much in vogue among the Vulgar, as well as their Predictions; The Chymiſts, apply themſelves chiefly, to the ſearch of the univerſal Medicine, for health and length of Life, pretending to make Men Immortal, if they can find it out: The Phyſicians excel, in the knowledge of the pulſe, and of all ſimple Medicines, and go little further, but in the firſt, are ſo skilful

skilful, as they pretend not only to tell by it, how many hours or days a ſick Man can laſt, but how many years, a Man in perfect ſeeming health may live, in caſe of no accident or violence. And by Simples, they pretend to relieve all Diſeaſes that Nature will allow to be cured. They never let blood, but ſay, if the Pot boils too faſt, there is no need of lading out any of the water, but only of taking away the fire from under it, and ſo they allay all heats of the blood, by abſtinence, diet and cooling herbs.

But all this Learning is ignoble and Mechanical among them, and the *Confutian* only eſſential and incorporate to their Government, into which none enters, without having firſt paſſed thro the ſeveral Degrees. To attain it, is firſt neceſſary the knowledg of their Letters or Characters, and to this muſt be applied at leaſt ten or twelve years ſtudy and diligence, and twenty, for great perfection in it: For by all I can gather out of ſo many Authors, as have written of *China*, they have no Letters at all, but only ſo many Characters, expreſſing ſo many Words: Theſe, are ſaid by ſome, to be ſixty, by others eighty, and by others ſixſcore thouſands

and

and upon the whole, their writing ſeems to me to be like that of Short-hand among us, in caſe, there were a different Character invented, for every word in our Language; Their Writing, is neither from the left hand to right like the *European*, nor from right to left like the *Aſiatick* Languages, but from top to bottom of the paper in one ſtrait line, and then beginning again at the top till the ſide be full.

The Learning of *China* therefore conſiſts firſt in the Knowledge of their Language, and next, in the Learning, Study and Practice of the Writings of *Confutius*, and His four great Diſciples; and as every Man grows more perfect in both theſe, ſo He is more eſteemed and advanced; nor is it enough to have read *Confutius*, unleſs it be diſcovered by retaining the principal parts of Him in their memories, and the practice of Him in their lives.

The Learned among them are promoted by three Degrees; The firſt may reſemble that of Sophiſters in our Colleges after two or three years ſtanding, and this Degree is conferred by publick Examiners appointed for that purpoſe, who go thro the chief Cities of

of each Province once a year, and upon ſcrutiny, admit ſuch of the Candidates as they approve, to this Degree, regiſter their Names, and give them a Badge belonging to this firſt form of the Learned.

The ſecond Degree, is promoted with more form, and performed once in three years, in a great College built for that purpoſe in the chief City of each Kingdom; By ſeveral Examiners appointed by the King, and ſtrict enquiries and queſtions both of Language and Learning, and much Critick upon the ſeveral Writings, produced by the ſeveral Pretenders, and ſubmitted to the Examiners. This Degree, may reſemble that of Maſters of Arts in our Colleges, and is conferred with a new Badge belonging to it.

The third Degree may be compared to that of Doctors among us in any of our Sciences, and is never conferred, but in the Imperial City of *Peking* with great Forms and Solemnities, after much examining, and deliberation of the Perſons appointed for that purpoſe, and of this Degree there are never to be above three hundred at a time in the whole Empire, beſides ſuch as are actually

ally in the Magiſtracy or Government; Who are all choſen out of the Perſons that have commenced or attained this degree of Learning. Upon the taking each Degree, they repair to a Temple of *Confutius*, which is erected in each City, and adjoyns to the Colleges; and there they perform the Worſhip and Ceremonies appointed in honour of His Memory, as the great Prince or Hero of the Learned.

Of theſe Perſons, all their Councils and all their Magiſtracies are compoſed; out of theſe are choſen all their Chief Officers and Mandarines, both Civil and Military. With theſe the Emperors and Viceroys of Provinces and Generals of Armies adviſe, upon all great occaſions; and their Learning and Virtue make them eſteemed more able for the execution and diſcharge of all publick Employments, than the longeſt Practice and Experience in other Countries; and when they come into Armies, they are found braver and more generous, in expoſing their Lives upon all great occaſions, than the boldeſt Soldiers of their Troops.

Now for the Government, it is abſolute Monarchy, there being no other

Laws

Laws in *China* but the King's Orders and Commands; and it is likewiſe Hereditary, ſtill deſcending to the next of Blood.

But all Orders and Commands of the King proceed thro' His Counſels, and are made upon the Recommendation or Petition of the Council proper and appointed for that Affair; ſo that all matters are debated, determined, and concluded by the ſeveral Councils; and then upon their Advices or Requeſts made to the King, they are ratify'd and ſigned by Him, and ſo paſs into Laws.

All great Offices of State are likewiſe conferred by the King, upon the ſame Recommendations or Petitions of His ſeveral Councils; ſo that none are preferred by the Humour of the Prince Himſelf, nor by favour of any Miniſter, by Flattery or Corruption, but by force or appearance of Merit, of Learning, and of Vertue, which obſerved by the ſeveral Councils, gain their Recommendations or Petitions to the King.

The chief Officers are either thoſe of State reſiding conſtantly at Court, and by whom, the whole Empire is governed; Or the Provincial Officers, Viceroys, and Magiſtrates or Mandarines;

For

For the first, there are in the Imperial City at *Peking* six several Councils, or as some Authors affirm, one great Council, that divides it self into six smaller but distinct Branches. Some difference is also made by Writers, concerning the nature or the business, of these Councils. But that which seems most generally agreed, is, That the first of these six is a Council of State, by whom all Officers through the whole Kingdom are chosen according to their Learning and Merit. The Second is, the Council of Treasury, which has inspection into the whole Revenue, and the Receits and Payments that are made in or out of it. The third takes care of the Temples, Offerings, Feasts and Ceremonies belonging to them, as likewise of Learning, and the Schools or Colleges designed for it. The Fourth is the Council of War, which disposes of all Military Offices and Honours, and all matters of War and Peace, that is, by the King's Command issued upon their representations. The fifth takes care of all the Royal or Publick Buildings, and of their Fleets. And the sixth is a Council or Court of Justice or Judicature, in all Causes both Civil and Criminal.

Each

Each of these Councils has a President and two Assistants or chief Secretaries, whereof one sits at His Right, and the other on his Left Hand, who digest and register the Debates and Orders of the Council. And besides these, there are in each Council Ten Counsellors.

By these Councils the whole Empire of *China* is govern'd thro all the several Kingdoms that compose it; and they have in each Province particular Officers, Intendants and Notaries, from whom they receive constant Accounts, and to whom they send constant Instructions concerning all Passages or Affairs of moment in any of the several Provinces of the Kingdom.

There are, besides these six, several smaller Councils, as one for the Affairs of the King's Women, for his Houshold, and His Domestique Chancery or Justice. But above all, is the Council of the *Colaos* or chief Ministers, who are seldom above five or six in number, but Persons of the most consummate Prudence and Experience, who after having passed, with great Applause, thro' the other Councils or Governments of Provinces, are at last advanced

to

to this ſupream Dignity, and ſerve as a Privy Council, or rather a *Junto*, ſitting with the Emperor Himſelf, which is allowed to none of the others. To theſe are preſented, all the Reſults or Requeſts of the other Councils, and being by their advice approved, they are, by the Emperor ſigned and ratified, and ſo diſpatched.

Theſe are always attended, by ſome of the chiefeſt and moſt renowned Philoſophers or Sages of the Kingdom, who attend the Emperor, and ſerve Him in receiving all Petitions, and give their opinions upon them to the Emperor or the *Colaos*, as alſo upon any matters of great moment and difficulty, when they are conſulted: And theſe are choſen out of two Aſſemblies reſiding at *Peking*, and conſiſting of ſixty Men each, but all choice Perſons, whoſe Wiſdom and Vertue, are generally known and applauded. They are imployed in all matters of Learning, and giving neceſſary Orders therein, keeping all the publick Writings and ordering and digeſting them, regiſtring all Laws and Orders of State, and out of theſe are appointed, by each ſucceeding King, ſome perſons to relate and

regiſter the Times and Actions of His Predeceſſor. They are, at their leiſure much given to Poetry, in which, they compile the Praiſes of Vertuous Men and Actions, Satyrs againſt Vice, Inſcriptions for Monuments and triumphal Arches, and ſuch like Compoſitions. And laſtly out of theſe (as they grow in Eſteem and Fame of Wiſdom and Vertue) are choſen and advanced by Degrees, the Officers of State, and Counſellors in the ſeveral Councils, and none ever arrives to be a *Colao*, that has not been of one of theſe two Aſſemblies.

Each particular Kingdom of the Empire, has the ſame Councils, or ſome very like them for the Government of that particular Province; but there is beſides in each, a Surintendant, ſent more immediately from Court, to inſpect the courſe of Affairs; A Cenſor of Juſtice and Manners, without whoſe approval, no capital Sentences are to be executed; And a third Officer, imployed by the Empreſs, in the nature of an Almoner, whoſe buſineſs is only that of Charity, and Relief of the Poor and diſtreſſed, and ſetting free Priſoners upon ſmall Debts or Offences; There

is

is beſides, in each Province, a particular Council, to take care of Learning, and to appoint Rules and Examiners for the ſeveral Degrees thereof.

It were endleſs to enumerate, all the excellent Orders of this State, which ſeem contrived by a reach of Senſe and Wiſdom, beyond what we meet with, in any other Government of the World; but by ſome few the reſt may be judged.

Each Prince of the Royal Blood has a Revenue aſſigned Him, and a City where he is bound to reſide, and never to ſtir out of it, without the Emperor's leave. All Degrees of People are diſtinguiſht by their Habit, and the ſeveral Officers by ſeveral Badges upon them; And the Colour worn by the Emperor, which is Yellow, is never uſed by any other perſon whatſoever. Every Houſe has a Board over the Door, wherein is written, the Number, Sex and Quality of the Perſons living in it, and to a certain number of Houſes, one is appointed to inſpect the reſt, and take care that this be exactly done. None is admitted to bear Office in any Province, where He was born, unleſs it be Military, which is grounded, up-

on the belief, that in matters of Juſtice Men will be partial to their Friends, but in thoſe of War, Men will fight beſt for their own Country. None ever continues in any Office above three years, unleſs upon a new Election; and none put out for miſcarriage in His Office, is again admitted to any Imployment. The two great hinges of all Governments, Reward and Puniſhment, are no where turned with greater care, nor exerciſed with more Bounty and Severity. Their Juſtice is rigorous upon all Offences againſt the Law, but none more exemplary, than upon corruption in Judges. Beſides this, Inquiſition is made into their ignorance and weakneſs, and even into careleſneſs and raſhneſs in their Sentences; and as the firſt is puniſhed with Death, ſo theſe are, with Diſmiſſion and Diſgrace. The Rewards of Honor (beſides thoſe of advancement) are conferred, by Patents from the Emperor, expreſſing Merits and granting Priviledges, by Pillars of Marble with elegant and honorary Inſcriptions: And to merit extraordinary towards the Prince and Country, even by erecting Temples, offering Incenſe, and appointing Prieſts,

for

for the ſervice of them. Agriculture is encouraged by ſo many ſpecial priviledges from the Crown, and the Common Laws or Cuſtoms of the Country, that whatever Wars happen, the Tillers of the Ground are untouched, as if they were ſacred, like Prieſts in other places; ſo as no Country in the World, was ever known to be ſo cultivated, as the whole Kingdom of *China*. Honor and Reſpect, is no where paid to Nobility or Riches ſo much, as it is here to Vertue and Learning, which are equally regarded, both by the Prince and the People: And the advancement to Office of perſons only for excelling in thoſe Qualities, prevents the Cankers of Envy and Faction, that corrupt and deſtroy ſo many other Governments. Every one ſeeking Preferment here only by Merit, attributes to it that of other Men. Tho the King be the moſt abſolute in the World, ſince there are no other Laws in *China* but what He makes; yet all Matters, being firſt digeſted and repreſented by His Councils, the Humors and Paſſions of the Prince, enter not into the forms or conduct of the Government, but His perſonal favours to Men or Women, are

distributed in the Preferments of His Houshold, or out of the vast Revenue that is particularly applyed to it, for support of the greatest Expence and Magnificence, that appears in any Palace of the World. So that it may truly be said, that no King is better served and obeyed, more honoured or rather adored; and no People better govern'd, nor with greater Ease and Felicity.

Upon these Foundations and Institutions, by such Methods and Orders, the Kingdom of *China* seems to be framed and policed with the utmost Force and Reach of Human Wisdom, Reason and Contrivance, and in Practice, to excel the very Speculations of other Men, and all those imaginary Scheams of the *European* Wits, the Institutions of *Xenophon*, the Republick of *Plato*, the *Utopias* or *Oceanas* of our Modern Writers. And this will perhaps be allowed by any that considers the Vastness, the Opulence, the Populousness of this Region, with the Ease and Facility wherewith 'tis govern'd, and the length of time this Government has run. The last, is three times longer than that of the *Assyrian Monarchy*, which was thirteen

teen hundred years, and the longeſt Period of any Government, we meet with in Story. The numbers of People and of their Forces, the Treaſures and Revenues of the Crown, as well as Wealth and Plenty of the Subjects, the Magnificence of their publick Buildings and Works, would be incredible, if they were not confirmed by the concurring Teſtimonies of *Paulus Venetus*, *Martinius Kercherus*, with ſeveral other relations, in *Italian*, *Portugueſe* and *Dutch*, either by Miſſionary Friers, or Perſons imploy'd thither upon Trade or Embaſſies upon that occaſion; Yet the whole Government is repreſented, as a thing managed with as much Facility, Order and Quiet, as a common Family, tho ſome Writers affirm the number of People in *China*, before the laſt *Tartar* Wars, to have been above two hundred Millions. Indeed the Canals cut thro the Country, or made by Conjunctions of Rivers, are ſo infinite, and of ſuch lengths, and ſo perpetually filled with Boats and Veſſels of all kinds, that one Writer believes, there are near as many People in theſe, and the Ships wherewith their Havens are filled, who live upon the Water, as thoſe upon the Land.

'Tis true, that as Phyſicians ſay, the higheſt Degree of Health in a Body, ſubjects it to the greateſt danger and violence of ſome Diſeaſe; ſo the perfection of this Government or Conſtitution, has had the ſame Effect, joyned with the accident of their Situation, upon ſuch a Neighbour as the *Tartars*. For theſe, by the hardneſs and poverty of their Country and their Lives, are the boldeſt and the fierceſt People in the World, and the moſt enterpriſing, On t'other ſide, the Excellence of the *Chineſe* Wit and Government, renders them, by great Eaſe, Plenty and Luxury, in time effeminate, and thereby expoſes them to frequent Attempts and Invaſions of their ſavage Neighbours. Three ſeveral times, upon their Records, the *Tartars* have conquered great parts of the Kingdom of *China*, and after long eſtabliſhments there, have been expelled. Till (as we ſaid before) about the year 1650. they atchieved the compleat and entire Conqueſt of the whole Empire after a bloody War of above thirty years. But the Force of this Conſtitution and Government, appears in no circumſtance or light, ſo great as in this, that it has waded ſafe thro ſo great

great Tempeſts and Inundations, as ſix changes of Race among their Kings by Civil Wars, and four Conqueſts by foreign and barbarous Forces. For under the preſent *Tartar* Kings, the Government continues ſtill the ſame, and in the Hands of the *Chineſe* learned; and all the change that appears to have been made, by ſuch a Storm or Revolution has been only, that a *Tartar* Race ſits in the Throne inſtead of a *Chineſe*; and the Cities and ſtrong places are garriſon'd by *Tartar* Souldiers, who fall by degrees, into the Manners, Cuſtoms and Language of the *Chineſes*. So great a Reſpect or rather Veneration is paid to this wiſe and admirable Conſtitution, even by its Enemies and Invaders, that both Civil Uſurpers and Foreign Conquerors, vie with Emulation, who ſhall make greateſt Court, and give moſt ſupport to it, finding no other means, to ſecure their own Safety and Eaſe, by the Obedience of the People, than the Eſtabliſhment and Preſervation of their ancient Conſtitutions and Government.

The great Idea, which may be conceived, of the *Chineſe* Wiſdom and Knowledge, as well as their Wit, Ingenuity

genuity and Civility, by all we either read or ſee of them, is apt to be leſſened, by their groſs and ſottiſh Idolatry; but this it ſelf, is only among the vulgar or illiterate, who worſhip after their manner, whatever Idols belong to each City, or Village or Family, and the Temples and Prieſts belonging to them, are in uſual requeſt among the common People and the Women. But the Learned adore the Spirit of the World, which they hold to be Eternal, and this without Temples, Idols or Prieſts. And the Emperor only is allowed to ſacrifice at certain times, by Himſelf or His Officers, at two Temples in the two Imperial Cities of *Peking* and *Nanking*, one dedicated to Heaven and t'other to the Earth.

This I mention to ſhew, how the furtheſt Eaſt and Weſt, may be found to agree in Notions of Divinity, as well as in Excellence of Civil or Politick Conſtitutions, by paſſing at one leap from theſe of *China* to thoſe of *Peru*.

SECT.

SECT. III.

'TIS known enough, that about the year 1484, *Alonſo Sanchez*, Maſter of a *Spaniſh* Veſſel that uſually traded from thoſe Coaſts to the *Canaries* and *Madara's*, was in His Paſſage between theſe Iſlands, ſurpriſed with a furious Storm at Eaſt, ſo violent, that He was forced to let His Ship drive before it without any Sail, and ſo black, that within twenty eight days He could not take the height of the Sun. That He was at length, caſt upon a Shore, but whether Iſland or Continent, He could not tell, but full of ſavage People. That after infinite Toyls, Dangers and miſeries of Hunger and Sickneſs, He made at length, one of the *Tercera* Iſlands, with only five Men left, of ſeventeen He carried out, and meeting there with the famous *Columbo*, made Him ſuch Relations and ſo pertinent Accounts of His Voyage, as gave occaſion for the diſcovery of *America*,

America, or the *West-Indies*, by this Man ſo renowned in our Modern Story.

Whatever Predictions, have been ſince found out or applyed, towards the Diſcovery of this New World, or Stories told of a certain Prince in *Wales*, having run the ſame Fortune, or of the ancient *Carthaginians*, I do not find, by all I have read upon this Subject, any reaſon to believe, that any Mortals, from *Europe* or *Africa*, had ever traced theſe unknown Paths of that Weſtern Ocean, or left the leaſt Footſteps of having diſcovered thoſe Countries, before *Alonſo Sanchez* and his Crew. Upon the arrival of the *Spaniards* there with *Columbus*, they found Nature as naked as the Inhabitants; in moſt parts no thought of buſineſs, further than the moſt natural Pleaſures or Neceſſities of Life; Nations divided by natural bounds of Rivers, Rocks or Mountains or difference of Language; Quarrels among them, only for Hunger or Luſt; the Command in Wars, given to the ſtrongeſt or the braveſt, and in Peace, taken up or exerciſed by the boldeſt among them; and their Lives commonly ſpent in the moſt innocent entertainments, of Hunting, Fiſhing, Feaſting,

Feasting, or in the most careless leisure.

There were among them many Principalities, that seemed to have grown up, from the original of Paternal Dominion, and some Communities with Orders and Laws; but the two great Dominions, were those of *Mexico* and *Peru*, which had arrived to such extent of Territory, Power and Riches, that amazed those, who had been enough acquainted with the Greatness and Splendor of the *European* Kingdoms. And I never met with any Story, so entertaining, as the Relations of the several learned *Spanish* Jesuits and others, concerning these Countries and People, in their native Innocence and Simplicity. *Mexico* was so vast an Empire, that it was well represented, by the common answer of the *Indians*, all along that Coast to the *Spaniards*, when they came to any part, and asked the People whether they were under *Montezuma*, *Quien noes esclavo de Montezuma?* or, *Who is not a Slave of* Montezuma? as if they thought, the whole World was so. They might truly call it Slave, for no Dominion was ever so absolute, so tyrannous, and so cruel, as

His

His. Among other Tributes impoſed on the People, one was of Men, to be ſacrificed every year, to an ugly deformed Idol, in the great Temple of *Mexico*. Such numbers as the King pleaſed of poor Victims, were laid upon ſuch extents of Cities or Villages, or Numbers of Inhabitants, and there choſen by lot, to ſatisfy ſuch bloody and inhuman Taxes. Theſe were often influenced by the Prieſts, who when they ſaw Men grow negligent, either in reſpect to themſelves, or devotion to their Idols, would ſend to tell the King, that the Gods were hungry, and thereupon, the common Tribute was raiſed; ſo as that year, the *Spaniards* landed and invaded *Mexico*, there had been above thirty thouſand Men ſacrificed to this cruel Superſtition. And this was ſaid, to have given great occaſion, for the eaſie Conqueſts of the *Spaniards*, by the willing Revolts and Submiſſions of the Natives, to any new Dominion.

The ſame was obſerved to happen in *Peru*, by the general hatred and averſion of the People in that Empire to *Atahualpa*, who being a Baſtard of the *Yncas* Family, had firſt, by Practices and Sub-

Subtilty, and afterwards by Cruelty and Violence, raiſed Himſelf to the Throne of *Peru*, and cut off with mercileſs Cruelty, all the Maſculine Race of the true Royal Blood, that were at Man's eſtate or near it, after that Line had laſted pure and ſacred, and reigned with unſpeakable Felicity, both to themſelves and their Subjects, for above eight hundred years.

This Kingdom is ſaid to have extended near ſeven hundred Leagues in length, from North to South, and about an hundred and twenty in breadth; 'Tis bounded on the Weſt, by the *Pacifick* Ocean; on the Eaſt, by Mountains impaſſible for Men or Beaſts, and as ſome write even Birds themſelves, the height being ſuch, as makes their Tops always covered with Snow, even in that warm Region. On the North, 'tis bounded with a great River, and on the South with another, which ſeparates it from the Province of *Chili*, that reaches to the *Magellan* Straits.

The Kingdom of *Peru*, deduced its original, from their great Heroes, *Mango Copac* and His Wife and Siſter *Coya Mama*, who are ſaid, to have firſt appeared in that Country, near a mighty Lake,

Lake, which is ſtill ſacred with them upon this occaſion.

Before this time, the People of theſe Countries are reported to have lived like the Beaſts among them, without any Traces of Orders, Laws or Religion, without other Food than from the Trees or the Herbs, or what Game they could catch, without further Proviſion than for preſent Hunger, without any Cloathing or Houſes, but dwelt in Rocks or Caves or Trees, to be ſecure from Wild Beaſts, or in Tops of Hills, if they were in fear of fierce Neighbours. When *Mango Copac* and His Siſter, came firſt into theſe naked Lands, as they were perſons of excellent Shape and Beauty, ſo they were adorned with ſuch cloaths as continued afterwards the uſual habit of the *Ynca's*, by which Name they called themſelves. They told the People who came firſt about them, that they were the Son and Daughter of the Sun, and that their Father, taking pity of the miſerable Conditions of Mankind, had ſent them down to reclaim them, from thoſe beſtial Lives, and to inſtruct them, how to live happily and ſafely, by obſerving ſuch Laws, Cuſtoms and Orders as their Father the Sun, had com-

commanded theſe his Children to teach them. The great Rule they firſt taught was, That every Man ſhould live according to Reaſon, and conſequently, neither ſay nor do any thing to others, that they were not willing others ſhould ſay or do to them, becauſe it was againſt all common Reaſon, to make one Law for our ſelves, and another for other People. And this was the great Principle of all their Morality. In the next place, that they ſhould Worſhip the Sun, who took Care of the whole World, gave Life to all Creatures, and made the Plants grow, and the Herbs fit for Food to Maintain them; and was ſo careful and ſo good, as to ſpare no Pains of his own, but to go round the World every day, to inſpect and provide for all that was upon it, and had ſent theſe his two Children down on purpoſe, for the Good and Happineſs of Mankind, and to rule them with the ſame Care and Goodneſs that he did the World. After this, they taught them the Arts moſt neceſſary for Life, as *Mango-Capac*, to ſow *Mayz* (or the Common Indian Grain) at certain Seaſons, to preſerve it againſt others, to build Houſes againſt Inclemencies of the Air, and Danger of

Wild-beaſts, to diſtinguiſh themſelves by Wedlock into ſeveral Families, to cloath themſelves, ſo as to cover at leaſt the ſhame of Nakedneſs, to tame, and nouriſh ſuch Creatures, as might be of common uſe and ſuſtenance. *Coya Mama* taught the Women to Spin and Weave, both Cotton, and certain coarſe Wools of ſome Beaſts amongſt them.

With theſe Inſtructions and Inventions they were ſo much believed in all they ſaid, and adored for what they did and taught of common utility, that they were followed by great numbers of People, obſerv'd and obey'd like Sons of the Sun, ſent down from Heaven to inſtruct and to govern them. *Mango-Capac* had in his Hand a rod of Gold about two Foot long, and five Inches round. He ſaid, that his Father the Sun had given it him, and bid him when he travelled Northward from the Lake, he ſhould every time he reſted, ſtrike this Wand down into the ground, and where at the firſt ſtroke it ſhould go down to the very top, he ſhould there build a Temple to the Sun, and fix the Seat of his Government.

This

This fell out to be in the Vale of *Cozco*, where he founded that City, which was head of this great Kingdom of *Peru*.

Here he divided his Company into two Colonies or Plantations, and called one the high *Caſco*, and t'other the low, and began here to be a Law giver to theſe People. In each of theſe were at firſt a Thouſand Families, which he cauſed all to be Regiſtred, with the numbers in each. This he did by Strings of ſeveral Colours, and Knots of ſeveral Kinds and Colours upon them, by which, both accounts were kept of things and times, and as much expreſſed of their minds, as was neceſſary in a Government, were neither Letters nor Money, nor conſequently Diſputes or Avarice, with their conſequences, ever entred.

He inſtituted Decurions thro' both theſe Colonies, that is, one over every Ten Families, another over Fifty, a third over a hundred, a fourth over five Hundred, and a fifth over a Thouſand; and to this laſt, they gave the name of a Curaca or Governour. Every Decurion was a Cenſor, a Patron, and a Judge or Arbiter in ſmall Controverſies among

thoſe under his charge. They took care that every one cloathed themſelves, laboured, and lived according to the orders given them by the *Ynca's*, from their Father the Sun; among which one was, That none who could work ſhould be idle, more than to reſt after labour; and that none who could not work, by Age, Sickneſs, or Invalidity ſhould want, but be maintain'd by the others pains. Theſe were ſo much obſerved, that in the whole Empire of *Peru*, and during the long race of the *Ynca* Kings, no Beggar was ever known, and no Woman ever ſo much as went to ſee a Neighbour, but with their Work in their hands, which they followed all the time the Viſit laſted. Upon this, I remember a ſtrain of refin'd Civility among them, which was, that when any Woman went to ſee another of equal or ordinary Birth, ſhe worked at her own Work in the others Houſe, but if ſhe made a Viſit to any of the Palla's (which was the name by which they called all the Women of the true Royal Blood, as Ynca's was that of the Men) then they immediately deſired the Palla to give them a piece of her own Work, and the Viſit paſſed in working for her.

Idle-

Idleneſs, ſentenced by the Decurions, was puniſhed by ſo many ſtripes in publick, and the diſgrace was more ſenſible than the pain. Every Colony had one ſupreme Judge, to whom the lower *Decurions* remitted great and difficult caſes, or to whom (in ſuch caſe) the Criminals appealed. But every *Decurion* that concealed any Crime of thoſe under his Charge, above a day and a night, became guilty of it, and lyable to the ſame puniſhment. There were Laws or Orders likewiſe againſt Theft, Mutilations, Murthers, Diſobedience to Officers, and Adulterers, (for every Man was to have one lawful Wife, but had the Liberty of keeping other Women, as he could). The Puniſhment of all Crimes, was either Corporal Pains, or Death, but commonly the laſt, upon theſe two reaſons which they gave; firſt, That all Crimes whether great or ſmall, were of the ſame nature, and deſerved the ſame puniſhment, if they were committed againſt the Divine Commands, which were ſent them down from the Sun: Next, that to puniſh any Man in his Poſſeſſions or Charges, and leave him alive and in ſtrength and liberty, was to leave an ill Man more incenſed,

or neceſſitated to commit new Crimes. On t'other ſide, they never forfeited the Charge or Poſſeſſions of a Son for his Fathers Offences, but the Judges only remonſtrated to him the guilt and puniſhment of them for his warning or example. Theſe Orders had ſo great force and effect, that many times a whole year paſſed without the execution of one Criminal.

There is no doubt, but that which contributed much to this great order in the State, was the diſuſe of other poſſeſſions than what were neceſſary to Life, and the eminent Vertue of their firſt great Hero or Legiſlator, which ſeemed to have been entayled upon their whole Race in the courſe of their Reign: So as in the whole length of it 'tis reported among them, that no true *Inca* was ever found guilty or puniſhed for any Crime. Thus particular qualities have been obſerved in old *Rome*, to be conſtant in the ſame Families for ſeveral hundred years, as Goodneſs, Clemency, Love of the People in that of the *Valerij*, Haughtineſs, Pride, Cruelty, and Hatred of the People in that of the *Appij*, which may come from the force of Blood, of Education, or Example.

ample. 'Tis certain, no Government was ever eſtabliſhed and continued by greater Examples of Vertue and Severity, nor any ever gave greater Teſtimonies, than the *Inca*'s, of an excellent Inſtitution, by the Progreſſes and Succeſſes, both in the propagation and extent of Empire, in force and plenty, in greatneſs and Magnificence of all publick Works, as Temples, Palaces, High-ways, Bridges, and in all Proviſions neceſſary to common eaſe, ſafety, and utility of human Life; ſo as ſeveral of the Jeſuits, and particularly *Acoſta*, are either ſo juſt or ſo preſuming, as to prefer the Civil Conſtitutions of *Mango-Copac* before thoſe of *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, *Solon*, or any other Law-givers, ſo celebrated in the more known parts of the World.

To every Colony was aſſigned ſuch a Compaſs of Land, whereof one part was appropriated to the Sun, a ſecond to the Widows, Orphans, Poor, Old or Maimed; a third to the peculiar Maintenance of every Family, according to their Number; and a fourth to the *Inca*. In this order the whole was Tilled, and the Harveſt or Product, laid up in ſeveral Granaries; out of which

it was distributed by Officers to that purpose, according to the several uses for which it was designed, and new Seed issued out at the Season for the new Tillage.

Every *Decurion*, besides the Office of a Censor and Judge, had that likewise of a Patron or Sollicitor, for Relief of the Necessities or Wants of those under his Charge. They were bound to give in to the Publick Registers, an Account of all that were Born, and of all that dyed under their Charge. None was suffered to leave the Colony or People he was born in without Leave, nor to change the Habit commonly used in it, (by some Parts or Marks whereof those of each Province were distinguished.) None to Marry out of it, no more than the *Inca*'s out of their own Blood.

The *Inca* that Reigned was called *Capa Inca*, which the *Spaniards* interpret *Solo Sennor*, or *Only Lord*. He ever Married the first of his Female Kindred, either Sister, Niece, or Cousin, to preserve the Line the purest they could. Once in two years he assembled all the unmarried *Inca's*, Men above Twenty, and Women above Sixteen years old, and there in publick Married all such as he

he thought fit, by giving each of their Hand one to another. The ſame was done among the Vulgar, by the *Curaca* of each People.

Every Family at their Time of Meals, eat with their Doors open, ſo that all might ſee their Temperance and Order.

By theſe, and other ſuch Laws and Inſtitutions, *Mango-Copac* firſt ſettled his Government or Kingdom in the Colonies of *Cozco*, which were in time multiplyed into many others, by the willing Confluence and Recourſe of many ſeveral People round about him, allured by the Divine Authority of his Orders, by the Sweetneſs and Clemency of his Reign, and by the Felicity of all that lived under it; and indeed, the whole Government of this Race of the *Inca*'s, was rather like that of a tender Father over his Children, or a juſt, careful, and well-natur'd Guardian over Pupils, than of a Lord or Commander over Slaves or Subjects. By which they came to be ſo honored or adored, that it was like Sacriledge for any common Perſon ſo much as to touch the *Inca* without his Leave; which was given as a Grace to thoſe who ſerved him well,

well, or to new Subjects that ſubmitted to him.

After the Extent of his Kingdom into great Compaſſes of Territory round *Cozco*, by voluntary Submiſſion of the People, as to ſome Evangelical rather than Legal Doctrines or Inſtitutions; *Mango-Copac* aſſembled all his Curaca's, and told them, that his Father the Sun had commanded him to extend his Inſtitutions and Orders as far as he was able, for the Good and Happineſs of Mankind; and for that purpoſe, with Armed Troops to go to thoſe remoter Parts that had not yet received them, and to reduce them to their Obſervance. That the Sun had commanded him to hurt or offend none that would ſubmit to him, and thereby accept of the Good and Happineſs that was offered him by ſuch Divine Bounty, but to diſtreſs only ſuch as refuſed, without killing any that did not aſſayl them, and then to do it juſtly in their own Defence.

For this Deſign, he formed and aſſembled Troops of Men, Armed both with Offenſive, and chiefly with Defenſive Weapons. He caſt them into the Order of *Decurions*, in the ſame manner as he had done Families; To every

every Ten Men was one Officer, another to Fifty, and another to One Hundred, a Fourth to Five Hundred, and a Fifth to a Thouſand. There was a Sixth over Five Thouſand, and a Seventh as a General, over Ten Thouſand; of which number his firſt Army was compoſed.

With this and other ſuch Armies, he reduced many new Territories under his Empire, declaring to every People he approached, the ſame things he had done firſt to thoſe who came about him near the great Lake, and offering them the benefit of the Arts he had taught, the Orders he had inſtituted, the Protection he had given his Subjects, and the Felicity they enjoyed under it. Thoſe who ſubmitted were received into the ſame Rights and Enjoyments with the reſt of his Subjects. Thoſe who refuſed were diſtreſſed, and purſued by his Forces till they were neceſſitated to accept of his Offers and Conditions. He uſed no Offenſive Weapons againſt any till they attacqued them, and then Defenſive only at firſt, till the danger and ſlaughter of his Men grew otherwiſe unavoidable; Then he ſuffered his Forces to fall upon them, and kill without

out Mercy, and not to ſpare even thoſe that yielded themſelves, after having ſo long and obſtinately reſiſted. Thoſe who ſubmitted after the firſt Threats or Diſtreſſes, or Bloodleſs Oppoſition, he received into Grace, ſuffered them to touch his Sacred Perſon, made great and common Feaſts for them and his own Soldiers together for ſeveral days, and then incorporated them into the Body of his Empire, and gave to each of them Cloathes to Wear, and Corn to Sow.

By theſe ways, and ſuch Heroick Vertues, and by the length of his Reign, he ſo far extended his Dominions, as to divide them into four Provinces, over each whereof he appointed an *Inca* to be a Viceroy (having many Sons grown fit to Command) and in each of them eſtabliſhed three Supream Councils, the firſt of Juſtice, the ſecond of War, and the third of the Revenue, of which an *Inca* was likewiſe Preſident, which continued ever after.

At the end of a long and adored Reign, *Mango-Copac* fell into the laſt Period of his Life; upon the approach whereof, he called together all his Children and Grand-children, with his eldeſt

eſt Son, to whom he left his Kingdom: And told them, that for his own part he was going to repoſe himſelf with his Father the Sun from whom he came; that he adviſed and charged them all, to go on in the paths of Reaſon and Virtue which he had taught them, till they followed him the ſame Journey; that by this courſe only, they would prove themſelves to be true Sons of the Sun, and be as ſuch honored and eſteemed. He gave the ſame Charge more eſpecially, and more earneſtly to the *Inca* his Succeſſor, and commanded him to govern his People according to his Example, and the Precepts he had received from the Sun; and to do it always with Juſtice, Mercy, Piety, Clemency, and Care of the Poor; and when he the Prince ſhould go in time to Reſt with his Father the Sun, that he ſhould give the ſame Inſtructions and Exhortations to his Succeſſor. And this Form was accordingly uſed in all the Succeſſions of the Race of the *Inca*'s which laſted eight hundred years with the ſame Orders, and the greateſt Felicity that could be of any State.

I Will ſay nothing of the greatneſs, magnificence and riches of their Buildings, Palaces, or Temples, eſpecially thoſe of the Sun; of the Splendour of their Court, their Triumphs after Victories, their Huntings and Feaſts, their Military Exerciſes and Honours. But as teſtimonies of their Grandeur, mention only two of their High-Ways, whereof one was Five Hundred Leagues, plain and levelled through Mountains, Rocks, and Valleys, ſo that a Carriage might drive through that whole length without difficulty. Another very long and large, paved all with cut or ſquared Stone, fenced with low Walls on each ſide, and ſet with Trees, whoſe Branches gave Shade, and the Fruits Food, to all that paſſed.

I ſhall end this Survey of their Government, with one Remarque upon their Religion, which is, that tho' the Vulgar Worſhipped only the Sun, yet the *Amautas*, who were their Sages or Philoſophers, taught, that the Sun was only the great Miniſter of *Pachacamac*, whom they adored in the firſt place, and to whom a great and ſumptuous Temple was Dedicated. This word is interpreted by the *Spaniards*, *Animador del*

del Mundo, or, *He that animates or enlivens the World*, and ſeems to be yet a more refin'd Notion of the Deity, than that of the *Chineſes*, who adored the Spirit and Soul of the World. By this principle of their Religion, as all the others of their Government and Policy, it muſt, I think, be allowed, that Human Nature is the ſame in theſe remote, as well as the other more known and celebrated parts of the World. That the different Governments of it are framed and cultivated, by as great reaches and ſtrength of Reaſon and of Wiſdom, as any of ours, and ſome of their Frames leſs ſubject to be ſhaken by the Paſſions, Factions, and other Corruptions, to which thoſe in the middle Scene of *Europe* and *Aſia*, have been ſo often and ſo much expoſed. That the ſame Cauſes produce every where the ſame Effects, and that the ſame Honours and Obedience, are in all places but Conſequences or Tributes paid to the ſame Heroick Vertue, or Tranſcendent Genius, in what parts ſoever, or under what Clymates of the World it fortunes to appear.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

THE Third Survey I propoſed to make in this Eſſay upon Heroick Vertue, was that of the Northern Region, which lies without the Bounds of the *Euxin* and the *Caſpian* Seas, the River *Oxus* to the Eaſt, and the *Danube* to the Weſt, which by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, was called all by one general Name of *Scythia*, and little known to any Princes or Subjects of the four great Monarchies, otherwiſe than by the defeats or diſgraces received in their Expeditions againſt theſe fierce Inhabitants of thoſe barren Countries: Such was the fatal Overthrow of *Cyrus* and his Army, by the Eaſtern *Scythians*, and the ſhameful Flight of *Darius* from the Weſtern.

This vaſt Region which extends from the North-Eaſt Ocean, that bounds *Cataya* and *China* to the North-Weſt, that waſhes the Coaſts of *Norway*, *Jutland*, and ſome Northern Parts of *Germany*, tho' compriſed by the Ancients under the

the common name of *Scythia* was diſtinguiſhed into the *Aſiatick* and the *European*, which were divided by the River *Tanais*, and the Mountains out of which it riſes. Thoſe numerous Nations may be called the Eaſtern *Scythians*, who ly on that ſide of the *Tanais*, or at leaſt the *Volga*, and thoſe the Weſtern that lye on this. Among the firſt, the *Maſſagetæ* were the moſt known or talkt of by the ancient Writers; and among the laſt, the *Getæ* and the *Sarmatæ*. The firſt is now comprehended under the general name of great *Tartary*, and the ſecond under thoſe of the leſſer *Tartary*, *Muſcovy*, *Poland*, *Sueden*, and *Denmark*; the two laſt ſtyling themſelves Kings of the *Goths* and *Vandals*.

How far this vaſt Territory is inhabited Northward by any Race of Mankind, I think none pretends to know, nor from how remote Corners of thoſe Frozen Mountains, ſome of thoſe fierce Nations firſt crept out, whoſe Force and Arms have been ſo known and felt, by all the reſt of what was of Old called the Habitable World.

Whether it be that the courſe of Conqueſt has run generally from the North to the South, as from the harder upon

the ſofter, or from the poorer upon the richer Nations, becauſe Men commonly Attacque with greater fierceneſs and courage than they Defend, being in one ſpirited by deſire, and in the other uſually damped by Fear; I cannot tell, but certain it is, how Celebrated ſoever the four great Monarchies have been, by the Writings of ſo many famous Authors, who have Eternized their Fame, and thereby their own; yet there is no part of the World that was ever Subject to *Aſſyrian*, *Perſian*, *Greek*, or *Roman* Empires (except perhaps ſome little Iſlands) that has not been Ravaged and Conquered by ſome of thoſe Northern Nations, whom they reckoned and deſpiſed as Barbarous: Nor where new Empires, Kingdoms, Principalities, or Governments, have not been by them erected upon the ruins of the Old, which may juſtly Mortifie the Pride of Mankind, the Depths of their Reaſonings, the Reach of their Politicks, the Wiſdom of their Laws, and Force of their Diſcipline, and may be allowed for a great and undiſputed Triumph of Nature over Art.

'Tis agreed in Story, that the *Scythians* Conquered the *Medes*, during the pe-

period of that Race in the *Aſſyrian* Empire, and were Maſters of *Aſia* for fifteen years, till they returned home upon Domeſtick Occaſions. That *Cyrus* was beaten and ſlain by their Fury and Revenge, under the leading of a Woman, whoſe Wit and Conduct made a great Figure in Ancient Story; That the *Romans* were defeated by the *Parthians*, who were of the *Scythian* Race.

But the great Hero of the Eaſtern *Scythians* or *Tartars*, I eſteem to have been *Tamerlane*; and whether he was Son of a Shepherd or a King, to have been the greateſt Conqueror that was ever in the World, at leaſt that appears upon any preſent Records of Story. His Atchievments were great upon *China*, where he ſubdued many Provinces, and forced their King to ſuch Conditions of a Peace, as he was content to impoſe. He made War againſt the *Muſcovites* with the ſame ſucceſs, and partly by force, partly by conſent, gained a paſſage through their Territories for that vaſt Army, which he led againſt *Bajazet* (then the Terror of the World) He conquered this proud Turk and his whole Empire, as far as the *Helleſpont*,

which he croſſed, and made a Viſit to the poor Greek Emperor at *Conſtantinople*, who had ſent to make Allyance with him upon his firſt Invaſion of *Bajazet*, at whoſe Mercy this Prince then almoſt lay, with the ſmall remainders of the *Grecian* Empire. Nothing was greater or more Heroical in this Victorious *Tamerlane*, than the Faith and Honour wherewith he obſerved this Allyance with the Greeks: For having been received at *Conſtantinople*, with all the Submiſſions that could be made him, having viewed and admired the Greatneſs and Structure of that Noble City, and ſaid, it was fit to make the Seat for the Empire of the World; and having the offer of it freely made him by the *Greeks* to poſſeſs it for his own, yet after many Honours exchanged between theſe two Princes, he left this City in the freedom, and the *Greek* Emperor in the Poſſeſſions he found them, went back into *Aſia*, and in his return Conquered *Syria*, *Perſia*, and *India*, where the great *Moguls* have ever ſince boaſted to be the Race of *Tamerlane*. After all theſe Conqueſts he went home, and paſſed the reſt of his Age in his own Native Kingdom, and dyed a fair and natu-

natural Death, which was a ſtrain of Felicity as well as Greatneſs, beyond any of the Conquerors of the Four Renowned Monarchies of the World. He was without queſtion, a Great and Heroick Genius, of great Juſtice, exact Diſcipline, generous Bounty, and much Piety, adoring one God, though he was neither Chriſtian, Jew, nor Mahometan, and deſerved a nobler Character than could be allowed by modern Writers, to any Perſon of a Nation ſo unlike themſelves.

The *Turks* were another Race of theſe Eaſtern *Scythians*, their Original Country being placed by ſome upon the North-Eaſt, by others upon the North-Weſt-Coaſt of the *Caſpian* Sea, and perhaps both may have contributed to furniſh ſuch numbers as have over-run ſo great a part of *Aſia*, *Europe*, and *Africa*. But I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more of them and their Conqueſts in the next Section.

That part of *Scythia* that lyes between the two Rivers of the *Volga* and *Boriſthenes*, whereof the one runs into the *Caſpian*, and t'other into the *Euxine* Sea, was the Seat of the *Getæ*, whom *Herodotus* mentions, as then known by

the name of *Getæ Immortales*, becauſe they believed that when they dyed, they ſhould go to *Zamolxis*, and enjoy a new Life in another World, at leaſt ſuch of them as lived according to his Orders and Inſtitutions, who had been a great Prince or Law-Giver among them. From this Name of *Getæ* came that of *Gothæ*, and this part of *Scythia*, in its whole Northern extent, I take to have been the vaſt Hive out of which iſſued ſo many mighty Swarms of Barbarous Nations, who under the ſeveral Names of *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Alans*, *Lombards*, *Huns*, *Bulgars*, *Francs*, *Saxons*, and many others, broke in at ſeveral times and places upon the ſeveral Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, like ſo many Tempeſts, tore in pieces the whole Fabrick of that Government, framed many new ones in its Room, changed the Inhabitants, Language, Cuſtoms, Laws, the uſual Names of Places and of Men, and even the very Face of Nature where they came, and Planted new Nations and Dominions in their Room. Thus *Italy*, after many Spoils and Invaſions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, came to be poſſeſſed by the *Lombards*, *Pannonia* by the *Huns*, *Thracia* by the *Bulgars*, the

the Southern parts of *Spain* or *Andaluzia* by the *Vandals*, the East or *Catalonia*, by the *Catti* and *Alani*; the rest of that Continent by the *Goths*. *Gaul* was subdued by the *Francs*, and *Britain* by the *Saxons*; both which Nations are thought to have come anciently from the more Northern Regions, and seated themselves in those parts of *Germany*, that were afterwards called by their Names, from whence they proceeded in time to make their later Conquests. The *Scutes* who Conquered *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and possessed them under the Names of *Albin Scutes*, and *Irin Scutes*, I guess to have come from *Norway*, and to have retained more of the ancient *Scythians* (before the *Goths* came into those parts) both in their Language and Habit, as that of Mantles, and in the Custom of removing from one part to another, according to the Seasons or Conveniences of Pasture. The *Normans* that came into *France*, I take likewise to be a later Race from *Norway*, but after the *Gothick* Orders and Institutions had gained more Footing in that Province.

The Writers of those Times content themselves to lay the Disgraces and Ruins of their Countries, upon the num-

bers and fierceneſs of theſe Savage Nations that invaded them, or upon their own diſ-unions and diſorders, that made way for ſo eaſie Conqueſts: But I cannot believe, that the ſtrange Succeſſes and Victorious Progreſſes of theſe Northern Conquerors, ſhould have been the Effect only of Tumultuary Arms and Numbers, or that Governments erected by them, and which have laſted ſo long in *Europe*, ſhould have been framed by unreaſonable or unthinking Men. 'Tis more likely, that there was among them ſome Force of Order, ſome Reach of Conduct, as well as ſome Principle of Courage above the common Strain; that ſo ſtrange Adventures could not be atchieved, but by ſome enchanted Knights.

That which firſt gave me this thought, was the Reflection upon thoſe Verſes in *Lucan.*

——— *Populus quos deſpicit Arctos*
Fælices errore ſuo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget lethi metus, inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animiq; capaces
Mortis, & ignavum redituræ parcere vitæ.

By

By this paſſage it appears, that ſixteen hundred years ago thoſe Northern People were diſtinguiſh'd from all others, by a fearleſneſs of Death, grounded upon the belief of another Life, which made them deſpiſe the care of preſerving this.

Whether ſuch an Opinion were firſt infuſed amongſt them by *Zamolxis*, and propagated by *Odin* amongſt his Followers, or by Him invented, I will not conjecture; it may have been either one or t'other, ſince the *Goths* He led into the North-Weſt parts of *Europe*, are agreed to have come from the *Getæ*, who are placed near the River *Tanais*. For thoſe vaſt *Scythian* Regions were divided into infinite ſeveral Nations, ſeparated by the common natural Bounds of Rivers, Lakes, Mountains, Woods or Marſhes. Each of theſe Countries, was like a mighty Hive, which by the vigour of Propagation, and health of Clymat, growing too full of People, threw out ſome new Swarms at certain periods of time that took Wing, and ſought out ſome new abode, expelling or ſubduing the old Inhabitants, and ſeating themſelves in their rooms, if they liked the conditions of place and commodities

modities of Life they met with; if not, going on till they found ſome other more agreeable to their preſent Humours or Diſpoſitions. Sometimes the expelled Nations took heart, and when they fled from one Country, invaded another, and revenged the Injuries of ſome cruel Neighbours, upon others that were weaker but more innocent, and ſo like Waves, thruſt on one the other, for mighty length of Space or Countries. Sometimes the Conquerors augmented their Numbers and Forces with the ſtrongeſt and moſt adventurous of thoſe Nations they firſt invaded, by their voluntary Acceſſion into the Shares or Hopes of their future Fortunes, and ſo went on to further Conqueſts.

The uſual Manner of theſe Expeditions, was, That when a Country grew too full of People for the growth of it to ſupply, they aſſembled together all that were fit to bear Arms, and divided themſelves into two Bands, whereof one ſtayed at home, to inhabit and defend their own, and t'other went to ſeek new Adventures, and poſſeſs ſome other they could gain by Force of Arms; and this was done ſometimes by Lot, and ſometimes by Agreement between

tween the two Diviſions. That Band or Colony that went abroad choſe their Leader, among thoſe in moſt Repute and Eſteem for Wiſdom or for Courage, and theſe were their Commanders or Generals in War; and if they lived and ſucceeded, were the firſt Princes of thoſe Countries they Conquer'd and choſe for the Seat of their New Colony or Kingdom.

Excerpta ex Edda.

Hic Odinus Fatidicus erat, ut & ejus Conjux, unde nomen ſuum in Septentrione præ cunctis Regibus maxime celebratum iri prævidit. Hàc motus causà ex Turcia iter molitus erat, adjuncto ſibi magno numero militum Juvenum & Seniorum utriuſq; ſexus. Quaſcunq; terras peragrarunt, divinis efferebantur encomiis, Diis quam hominibus ſimiliores ab univerſis judicati, nec prius ſubſtiterunt quàm terram ingreſſi eſſent quæ nunc Saxonia appellatur, ubi per multos annos Odinus vixit, iſtamq; Regionem late poſſedit, quam cum diſtribuiſſet inter Filios, ita ut Vagdeggo Orientalem Saxoniam, Begdego Weſtphaliam, Siggo Franconiam determinavit; ipſe in aliam migravit regionem, quæ tunc Reidgotolandia dicibatur, & quicquid ibi placuit ſibi vindicavit. Huic terræ præfecit filium Skioldam ex quo Freidlefus genitus eſt cujus poſteri Skioldungar, ſive Skioldiades nominantur, a qua ſtirpe Daniæ Reges deſcenderunt,

It ſeems agreed by the curious Enquirers into the Antiquities of the Runick Language and Learning, that *Odin* or *Woden* or *Goden* (according to the different NorthernDialects) was the firſt and great Hero of the Weſtern *Scythians*. That he led a mighty ſwarm of the *Getes* under

ista Reidgotolandia, nunc Jutlandia appellatur.

Ex Snorrone.

Odinus Heros in Asgordia prope Tanaim, Sacrorum Gentilium Summus antistes, duodecim Senatores qui cæteris pietate & sapientia præstarent Religioni curandæ & Juri dicundo præfecit. Hic magnanimus & fortis bellator innumera regna ditionesq; suam redegit in Potestatem. Manus ducum suorum vertici imponens eos consecrabat, qui in pugnam euntes nomen Odini nuncupabant. Othinus fratribus suis Regnum Asgardiæ commisit, ipse in Russiam profectus & inde in Saxoniam, eam sibi subjugavit, & filiis in regendum commisit. Inauditi generis miracula variis exercuit præstigiis, Magisterium publicum Magiæ præcipiendæ instituit: In varias formarum species se transmutare noverat, tantâ eloquii dulcedine audientes demulcere poterat ut dictis ejus nullam non fidem adhiberent. Carminibus inter loquendum crebrò prolatis miram Sermoni Gratiam conciliabat: Tantâ ludificandorum oculorum peritiâ callebat, ut sæpe corpus suum velut spiritu suppresso humi prosterneret, Evigilans se longinquas oras peragrasse, & quid ibi rerum gereretur comperisse asseverabat. Ad summum Runis suis & incantationibus incredibilia patrando tam clarum sibi nomen peperit ut sapientiæ & potentiæ suæ & Asianorum per omnes brevi nationes sit debitum, quò evenit

der the name of *Goths*, from the *Asiatick Scythia* into the fartheſt North-Weſt Parts of *Europe*: That he ſeated and ſpred his Kingdom round the whole Baltick Sea, and over all the Iſlands in it, and extended it Weſt-ward to the Ocean, and Southward to the *Elve*, (which was anciently eſteemed the Bound between the *Scythians* and the *Germans*.) That this vaſt Country was in the ancient Gothick

ut Sueci aliiq; populi Boreales Odino, Sacrificia dependerent. Poſt obitum multis apparuit, multis victoriam contulit, alios in Walhalde, id eſt, aulam Plutonis invitavit.

thick term called *Biarmia*, and is by ſome Authors termed, *Officina Gentium*, having furniſhed all thoſe Swarms of *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Saxons*, *Angles*, *Jutes*, *Danes*, *Normans*, which ſo often infeſted, and at length ſubdued all the Weſtern Provinces of *Europe*. Some write, that he extended his Conqueſts even as far as *Franconia* it ſelf; but all agree, that this *Odin* was the firſt Inventor of, or at leaſt the firſt Engraver of the Runick Letters or Characters, ſometimes ſo famous, and at laſt ſo infamous in the World, by the vulgar Opinion and Imputation of all ſorts of Charms, Enchantments, or Witchcrafts to the Uſe and Force of thoſe ſtrange Characters. That He inſtituted many excellent Orders and Laws, made the diſtinction of Seaſons, the diviſions of Time, was an Invincible Warrier, a wiſe Law-giver, loved and obeyed during Life, by his Subjects; and after his Death adored as one of their three chief Gods, amongſt which he was the God of War, *Thor* of Thunder and Tempeſts, *Frea* of Pleaſure, by whoſe

whoſe Names, for an eternal Memory, three days of the Week are called.

I will not enter into His Story, nor that of His Succeſſion, or the infinite and famous Revolutions it produced in the World, nor into the more curious ſearch of the time of His Expedition, which muſt have been very Ancient, and is thereby left doubted and undetermined: But if it be true, that He was Inventor of the Runick Characters, ſome Writers of that Language will make Him older than *Evander*, by affirming their Runick Letters to have been more Antient than the Latin, which were firſt brought into *Italy* in His time. For my own part, I ſhould gueſs, by all I have peruſed of thoſe Antiquities, that this Expedition may have been made two thouſand years ago or thereabouts. So much is true, that the *Runes* were for long periods of time in uſe, upon materials more laſting than any others imployed to that purpoſe; for inſtead of Leaves or Barks, or Wax or Parchments, theſe were engraven upon Stone or Planks of Oaks, upon Artificial Obelisks or Pillars, and even upon Natural Rocks, in great Numbers and Extent of Lines. But more of this Runick Subject will occur upon that

that of Poetry; and I ſhall only obſerve, among the Conſtitutions of theſe Northern People, three Principles of a ſtrain very extraordinary, and perhaps peculiar to themſelves, and which extend very far into the Fortunes and Conqueſts of their Arms, and into the force and duration of their Kingdoms. The firſt of theſe is a Principle of Religion or Superſtition, the next of Learning, and the laſt of Policy or Civil Government.

Whether the firſt were deduced from that of *Zamolxis*, among the *Getes* ſtyled of old Immortals, or introduced by *Odin* among the Weſtern *Goths*, 'tis certain, that an Opinion was fixed and general among them, That Death was but the entrance into another Life; that all men who lived lazy and unactive Lives, and died natural Deaths, by Sickneſs or by Age, went into vaſt Caves under ground, all dark and miry, full of noyſom Creatures uſual in ſuch places, and there for ever grovelled in endleſs ſtench and miſery. On the contrary, all who gave themſelves to warlike Actions and Enterpriſes, to the Conqueſt of their Neighbours, and Slaughter of Enemies, and died in Battel, or of Violent Deaths

Deaths upon bold Adventures or Reſolutions, they went immediately to the vaſt Hall or Palace of *Odin*, their God of War, who Eternally kept open Houſe for all ſuch Gueſts, where they were entertained at infinite Tables, in perpetual Feaſts and Mirth, Carowſing every Man in Bowls made of the Sculls of their Enemies they had ſlain, according to which numbers every one in theſe Manſions of Pleaſure was the moſt Honoured and the beſt entertained.

How this Opinion was printed in the Minds of theſe fierce Mortals, and what effect it had upon their Thoughts and Paſſions, concerning Life and Death, as it is touched Elegantly in thoſe Verſes of *Lucan* before recited, ſo it is lively repreſented in the twenty fifth and twenty ninth Stanza of that Song or Epicedium of *Regner Ladbrog*, one of their famous Kings, which He compoſed in the Runick Language, about eight hundred years ago, after He was mortally ſtung by a Serpent, and before the Venom ſeized upon His Vitals. The whole Sonnet is recited by *Olaus Wormius* in his *Literatura Runica* (who has very much deſerved from the Commonwealth of Learning) and is very well worth

worth reading, by any that love Poetry; and to conſider the ſeveral ſtamps of that Coyn, according to ſeveral Ages and Climates. But that which is extraordinary in it, is, that ſuch an alacrity or pleaſure in dying, was never expreſſed in any other Writing, nor imagined among any other People. The Two Stanzaes are thus tranſlated into Latin by *Olaus*.

Stanza XXV.

Pugnavimus enſi us,
Hoc ridere me facit ſemper
Quod Balderi Patris Scamna
Parata ſcio in aula,
Bibemus Cereviſiam
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum,
Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem
Magnifici in Odini domibus,
Non venio deſperabundus
Verbis ad Othini aulam.

Stanza XXIX.

Fert animus finire,
Invitant me Dyſæ
Quas ex Odini aula
Othinus mihi miſit
Lætus cereviſiam cum Aſis
In ſumma ſede bibam
Vitæ elapſæ ſunt horæ,
Ridens Moriar.

I am deceived, if in this Sonnet, and a following Ode of *Scallogrim*, (which was likewiſe made by Him after He was condemned to die, and deſerved his Pardon for a Reward) there be not a vein truly Poetical, and in its kind Pindarick, taking it with the allowance of the different Climats, Faſhions, Opinions, and Languages of ſuch diſtant Countries.

I will not trouble my ſelf with more paſſages out of theſe Runick Poems, concerning this Superſtitious Principle, which is ſo perfectly repreſented in theſe, with the poſſeſſion it had taken of the Nobleſt Souls among them; for ſuch this *Lodbrog* appears to have been, by His perpetual Wars and Victories in thoſe Northern Continents, and in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. But I will add a Teſtimony of it, which was given me at *Nimeguen*, by Count *Oxenſtern* the firſt of the Swediſh Ambaſſadors in that Aſſembly. In diſcourſe upon this Subject, and confirmation of this Opinion having been general among the *Goths* of thoſe Countries; He told me, there was ſtill in *Sueden* a place which was a memorial of it, and was called *Odins-*

Odinshall. That it was a great Bay in the Sea, encompaſſed on three ſides with ſteep and ragged Rocks; that in the Time of the Gothick Paganiſm, men that were either ſick of Diſeaſes they eſteemed mortal or incurable, or elſe grown invalid with Age, and thereby paſt all military Action, and fearing to dye meanly and baſely (as they eſteemed it) in their Beds, they uſually cauſed themſelves to be brought to the neareſt part of theſe Rocks, and from thence threw themſelves down into the Sea, hoping by the boldneſs of ſuch a violent Death, to renew the Pretence of Admiſſion into the Hall of *Odin*, which they had loſt, by failing to dye in Combat and by Arms.

What effect ſuch a Principle (ſuck'd in with inſtruction and education, and well believed) muſt have upon the Paſſions and Actions of a People naturally ſtrong and brave, is eaſie to conceive, and how far it went, beyond all the ſtrains of the boldeſt and firmeſt Philoſophy; for this reached no farther than Conſtancy in Death, or Indifferency in the Opinion of that or of Life; but the other infuſed a Scorn of Life, and a deſire of Death; nay, fear and averſion

even for a natural Death, with purſuit and longing for a violent one (contrary to the general Opinions of all other Nations) ſo as they took Delight in War and Dangers, as others did in Hunting or ſuch active Sports, and fought as much for the hopes of Death as of Victory, and found as much pleaſure in the ſuppoſed Advantages and Conſequences of one, as in the real Enjoyments of the other. This made them perpetually in New Motions or Deſigns, fearleſs and fierce, in the Execution of them, and never caring in Battle to preſerve their Lives, longer than to increaſe the Slaughter of their Enemies, and thereby their own Renown here, and Felicity hereafter. For my part, when I conſider the force of this Principle, I wonder not at the effects of it, their numerous Conqueſts, nor immenſity of Countries they ſubdued, nor that ſuch ſtrange Adventures ſhould have been finiſhed by ſuch enchanted Men. But when Chriſtianity introduced among them, gave an end to theſe Deluſions, the reſtleſs humour of perpetual Wars and Action was likewiſe allay'd, and they turned their Thoughts to the eſtabliſhment of their ſeveral Kingdoms,

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in the Provinces they had ſubdued and choſen for their Seats, and applyed themſelves to the Orders and Conſtitutions of their Civil or Political Governments.

Their Principle of Learning, was, That all they had among them was applyed to the Knowledge and Diſtinction of Seaſons, by the courſe of the Stars, and to the prognoſticks of Weather, or elſe to the Praiſes of Vertue, which conſiſted among them only, in Juſtice to their own Nation, and Valour againſt their Enemies; and the reſt was employed in diſplaying the brave and heroick Exploits of their Princes and Leaders, and the Proweſs and Conqueſts of their Nation: All their Writings were compoſed in Verſe, which were called *Runes* or *Viiſes*, and from thence the Term of Wiſe came: And theſe Poets or Writers being eſteemed the Sages among them, were as ſuch, always employed in the attendance upon their Princes, both in Courts and Camps, being uſed to adviſe in their Conduct, and to Record their Actions, and Celebrate their Praiſes and Triumphs. The Traces of theſe Cuſtoms have been ſeen within the Compaſs of this very Age, both in

Hungary and *Ireland*, where, at their Feaſts it was uſual, to have theſe kind of Poets entertain the Company with their rude Songs, or Panegyricks of their Anceſtors bold Exploits, among which, the Number of Men that any of them had ſlain with their own hands, was the chief ingredient in their praiſes. By theſe, they rewarded the Proweſs of the old Men among them, and inflamed the Courage of the young, to equal the boldneſs and atchievements of thoſe that had travelled before them in theſe paths of Glory.

The Principle of Politick or Civil Government in theſe Northern Nations, ſeems derived from that which was Military among them. When a new Swarm was upon the Wing, they choſe a Leader or General for the Expedition, and at the ſame time the chief Officers to command the ſeveral Diviſions of their Troops; theſe were a Council of War to the General, with whom they adviſed, in the whole progreſs of their Enterpriſe, but upon great occaſions, as a Pitch Battle, any military exploit of great difficulty and danger, the choice of a Country to fix their Seat, or the conditions of Peace that were propoſed, they

they Aſſembled their whole Troops, and Conſulted with all the Souldiers or People they commanded. This *Tacitus* obſerves, to have been in uſe, among the German Princes in His time, to conſult of ſmaller Affairs with the chief Officers, but *de Majoribus omnes.*

If a Leader of theſe Colonies ſucceeded in his Attempts, and conquer'd a new Country, where by common conſent they thought fit to reſide, He grew a Prince of that Country while He lived, and when He dyed, another was choſen to ſucceed him by a general Election. The Lands of the ſubdued Territory were divided into greater and ſmaller Shares, beſides that reſerved to the Prince and Government. The great, were given to the chief Officers of the Army, who had beſt deſerved, and were moſt eſteemed; the ſmaller, to the common or private Souldiers. The Natives conquered, were wholly diſpoyled of their Lands, and reckoned but as Slaves by the Conquerors, and ſo uſed for labour and ſervile Offices, and thoſe of the conquering Nation were the Freemen. The great Sharers, as chief Officers, continued to be the Council of the Prince in Matters

of State, as they had been before in matters of War. But in the great Affair, and of common concernment, all that had the ſmaller Shares in Land, were aſſembled and adviſed with. The firſt great Shares were in proceſs of time called Baronies; and the Small, Fees.

I know very well how much Critick has been imployed, by the moſt Learned, as *Eraſmus* and *Selden*, as well as many others, about the two Words *Baro* and *Feudum*, and how much Pains have been taken, to deduce them from the Latin, Greek, and even the Ægyptian Tongues; but I find no reaſon, after all they have ſaid, to make any doubt of their having been both Original of the Gothick or Northern Language; or of *Baro*, being a Term of Dignity, of Command, or of Honour among them; and *Feudum*, of a Souldiers Share of Land. I find the firſt uſed above eight hundred years ago, in the Verſes mentioned of King *Lodbrog*, when one of his Exploits was, to have Conquered eight Barons. And though *Fees* or *Feuda* were in uſe under later Roman Emperors, yet they were deprived from the Gothick Cuſtoms, after ſo great numbers of thoſe Nations were introduced into the

the Roman Armies, and employed upon the Decline of that Empire, againſt other more barbarous Invaſions. For of all the Northern Nations, the *Goths* were eſteemed the moſt civil, orderly, and vertuous, and are for ſuch commended by St. *Auſtin* and *Salvian*, who makes their Conqueſts, to have been given them by the Juſtice of God, as a Reward of their Vertue, and a puniſhment upon the Roman Provinces for the Viciouſneſs and Corruptions of their Lives and Governments.

From the Diviſions, Forms and Inſtitutions already deduc'd, will naturally ariſe and plainly appear the Frame and Conſtitution of the Gothick Government, which was peculiar to them, and different from all before, known or obſerved in Story, but ſo univerſal among theſe Northern Nations, that it was under the Names of King, or Prince or Duke and His Eſtates, eſtabliſhed in all parts of *Europe*, from the North-eaſt of *Poland* and *Hungary*, to the South-weſt of *Spain* and *Portugal*, though theſe vaſt Countries had been ſubdued by ſo many ſeveral Expeditions of theſe Northern Nations, at ſuch diverſe times, and under ſo different Appellations. And

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it ſeems to have been invented or inſtituted by the Sages of the *Goths*, as a Government of Freemen, which was the Spirit or Character of the North-Weſt Nations, diſtinguiſhing them from thoſe of the South and the Eaſt, and gave the Name to the *Francs* among them.

I need ſay nothing of this Conſtitution, which is ſo well known in our Iſland, and was anciently the ſame with ours in *France* and *Spain*, as well as *Germany* and *Sueden*, where it ſtill continues, conſiſting of a King or Prince, who is Sovereign both in Peace and War, of an Aſſembly of Barons (as they were originally called) whom He uſes as his Council, and another of the Commons, who are the Repreſentative of all that are poſſeſſed of Free-Lands, whom the Prince aſſembles and conſults with, upon the occaſions or affairs, of the greateſt and common concern to the Nation. I am apt to think that the Poſſeſſion of Land, was the Original Right of Election or Repreſentative among the Commons, and that Cities and Boroughs were entitled to it, as they were poſſeſs'd of certain Tracts of Land, that belonged or were annexed to them. And ſo it is ſtill in

Friezland

Friezland, the Seat from whence our Gothick or Saxon Anceſtors came into theſe Iſlands. For the ancient Seat of the Gothick Kingdom, was of ſmall or no Trade; nor *England* in their Time. Their Humours and Lives were turned wholly to Arms, and long after the *Norman* Conqueſt, all the Trade of *England* was driven by *Jews*, *Lombards*, or *Milaners*, ſo as the right of Boroughs ſeems not to have ariſen from Regards of Trade, but of Land, and were places where ſo many Freemen inhabited together, and had ſuch a Proportion of Land belonging to them. However it be, this Conſtitution has been celebrated, as framed with great Wiſdom and Equity, and as the trueſt and juſteſt Temper that has been ever found out between Dominion and Liberty; and it ſeems to be a ſtrain of what *Heraclitus* ſaid, was the only Skill or Knowledge of any Value in the Politicks, which was the Secret of Governing All by All.

This ſeems to have been intended by theſe Gothick Conſtitutions, and by the Election and Repreſentation of All that poſſeſſed Lands; for ſince a Country is compoſed of the Land it contains, they eſteemed a Nation to be ſo, of ſuch as were

were the Poſſeſſors of it. And what Prince ſoever can hit of this great Secret, needs know no more, for his own Safety and Happineſs, or that of the People He governs. For no State or Government can ever be much troubled or endangered by any private Factions, which is grounded upon the general conſent and ſatisfaction of the Subjects, unleſs it be wholly ſubdued by the force of Armies; and then the ſtanding Armies have the Place of Subjects, and the Government depends upon the contented or diſcontented Humours of the Souldiers in general, which has more ſudden and fatal conſequences upon the Revolutions of State, than thoſe of Subjects in unarmed Governments. So the Roman, Ægyptian, and Turkiſh Empires, appear to have always turned upon the Arbitrary Wills, and Wild Humours of the Prætorian Bands, the Mamalukes, and the Janizaries. And ſo I paſs from the Scythian Conqueſts and Gothick Conſtitutions to thoſe of the *Arabians* or *Mahumetans* in the World.

SECT.

SECT. V.

THE laſt Survey I propoſed, of the Four out-lying (or if the Learned ſo pleaſe to call them, Barbarous) Empires, was that of the *Arabians*, which was indeed of a very different Nature from all the reſt, being built upon Foundations, wholly Enthuſiaſtick, and thereby very unaccountable to common Reaſon, and in many Points contrary even to Human Nature; yet few others have made greater Conqueſts or more ſudden Growths, than this *Arabian* or *Saracen* Empire; but having been of later Date, and the courſe of it engaged in perpetual Wars with the Chriſtian Princes, either of the Eaſt or Weſt, of the Greek or the Latin Churches, both the Original and Progreſs of it, have been eaſily obſerved, and are more vulgarly known, having been the Subject of many Modern Writers, and ſeveral well-digeſted Hiſtories or Relations, and therefore I ſhall

ſhall give but a very Summary Account of both.

About the year 600, or near it, lived *Mahomet*, a Man of mean Parentage and Condition, illiterate, but of great Spirit and ſubtil Wit, like thoſe of the Climate or Country where He was born or bred, which was that part of *Arabia* called the Happy, eſteemed the loveliеſt and ſweeteſt Region of the World, and like thoſe bleſſed Seats ſo finely painted by the Poet,

Quas neq; concutiunt venti, neq; nubila nimbis
Aſpergunt, neq; nix acri concreta pruina
Cana cadens violat, ſemperq; innubilus æther
Contegit, & late diffuſo lumine ridet.

He was Servant to a rich Merchant of this Country, and after his Maſters Death, having Married his Widow, came to be poſſeſſed of great Wealth, and of a numerous Family: Among others, he had entertained in it a Sergian Monk, or at leaſt called by that Name, whoſe vicious and libertine Diſpoſitions of Life, had made him leave his Incloſure and Profeſſion, but otherwiſe a Man of great Learning. *Mahomet* was

ſubject

ſubject to Fits of an Epilepſie or Falling-Sickneſs, and either by the Cuſtoms of that Clymat, or the neceſſity of that Diſeaſe, very temperate and abſtaining from Wine, but in the reſt voluptuous and diſſolute. He was aſhamed of his Diſeaſe, and to diſguiſe it from his Wife and Family, pretended his Fits were Trances, into which he was caſt at certain times by God Almighty, and in them inſtructed in his Will, and His true Worſhip and Laws, by which he would be ſerved; and that He was commanded to publiſh them to the World, to teach them and ſee them obey'd.

About this Age all the Chriſtian Provinces of the Eaſt were over-run with *Arianiſm*, which however refined or diſguiſed by its learned Profeſſors and Advocates, either denyed or undermined the Divinity of Chriſt, and allowed only His Prophetical Office. The Countries of *Arabia* and *Ægypt*, were filled with great numbers of the ſcattered Jews, who upon the laſt Deſtruction of their Country in *Adrian*'s time, had fled into theſe Provinces to avoid the Ruin and even Extinction, which was threatned their Nation by that Emperor, who after all the Deſolations He made

made in *Judea*, transported what He could of their remaining Numbers into *Spain*. The reſt of *Arabia* and *Ægypt*, was inhabited by Gentiles, who had little Senſe left of their decayed, and derided Idolatry, and had turned their Thoughts and Lives to Luxury and Pleaſure, and to the deſires and acquiſition of Riches; in order to thoſe ends, *Mahomet*, to humour and comply with theſe three ſorts of Men, and by the aſſiſtance of the Monk his only Confident, framed a Scheam of Religion he thought likely to take in, or at leaſt not to ſhock the common Opinions and diſpoſitions of them all, and yet moſt agreeable to his own Temper and Deſigns.

He profeſſed one God Creator of the World, and who govern'd all things in it. That God had in ancient times ſent *Moſes* His firſt and great Prophet, to give His Laws to Mankind, but that they were neither received by the Gentiles, nor obeyed by the Jews themſelves, to whom he was more peculiarly ſent. That this was the occaſion of the Misfortunes and Captivities that ſo often befel them. That in the later Ages He had ſent Chriſt, who was the Second Prophet

Prophet, and greater than *Moſes*, to preach His Laws and Obſervation of them, in greater Purity, but to do it with Gentleneſs, Patience & Humility, which had found no better reception or ſucceſs among Men than *Moſes* had done. That for this Reaſon God had now ſent his laſt and greateſt Prophet, *Mahomet*, to publiſh his Laws and Commands with more Power, to ſubdue thoſe to them by Force and Violence, who ſhould not willingly receive them, and for this end to eſtabliſh a Kingdom upon Earth that ſhould propagate this Divine Law and Worſhip, throughout the World: That as God had deſigned utter Ruin and Deſtruction to all that refuſed them, ſo to thoſe that profeſſed and obeyed them, He had given the Spoils and Poſſeſſions of His and their Enemies, as a Reward in this Life, and had provided a Paradice hereafter, with all ſenſual enjoyments, eſpecially of beautiful Women new created for that purpoſe; but with more Tranſcendent Degrees of Pleaſure and Felicity to thoſe that ſhould dye in the purſuit and propagation of them, thro' the reſt of the World, which ſhould in time ſubmit or be ſubdued under them. Theſe, with

with the ſevere Prohibition of drinking Wine, and the Principle of Predeſtination, were the firſt and chief Doctrines and Inſtitutions of *Mahomet*, and which were received with great Applauſe, and much Confluence of *Arians*, *Jews* and *Gentiles* in thoſe Parts; ſome contributing to the riſe of his Kingdom by the Belief of his Divine Miſſion and Authority; many, by finding their chief Principles or Religious Opinions, contained or allowed in them; but moſt by their Voluptuouſneſs and Luxury, their Paſſions of Avarice, Ambition and Revenge being thereby complyed with. After his Fits or Trances, he writ the many ſeveral Parts or Chapters of His *Alchoran*, as newly inſpired and dictated from Heaven, and left in them, that which to us, and in its Tranſlations, looks like a wild Fanatick Rhapſody of his Viſions or Dreams, or rather of His Fantaſtical Imaginations and Inventions, but has ever paſſed among all his Followers, as a Book Sacred and Divine; which ſhews the ſtrange difference of Conceptions among Men.

To be ſhort, this Contagion was ſo violent, that it ſpread from *Arabia* into *Ægypt* and *Syria*, and his Power increaſed

creaſed with ſuch a ſudden Growth as well as his Doctrine, that he lived to ſee them overſpread both thoſe Countries, and a great part of *Perſia*; the Decline of the Old Roman Empire, making eaſie way for the powerful aſcent of this new Comet, that appeared with ſuch wonder and terrour in the World, and with a flaming Sword made way where-ever it came, or laid all deſolate that oppoſed it.

Mahomet left two Branches of his Race, or Succeſſion, which was in both eſteemed Divine among his *Muſſulmans* or Followers; the one was continued in the *Caliphs* of *Perſia*; and to'ther of *Ægypt* and *Arabia*. Both theſe, under the common Appellation of *Saracens*, made mighty and wonderful Progreſs, the one to the Eaſt, and th'other to the Weſt.

The Roman Empire, or rather the remainders of it, ſeated at *Conſtantinople*, and afterwards called the Greek, was for ſome times paſt moſt cruelly infeſted, and in many parts ſhaken to pieces, by the Invaſions or Incurſions of many barbarous Northern Nations, and thereby diſabled from any vigorous op-

poſition to this new and formidable Enemy. Beſides, the Diviſions among Chriſtians, made way for their Conqueſts, and the great increaſe of Proſelytes to this new Religion. The *Arians* perſecuted in the Eaſtern Provinces by ſome of the Greek Emperors (of the ſame Faith with the Weſtern or Roman Church) made eaſie turns to the *Mahumetan* Doctrines, that profeſſed Chriſt to have been ſo Great and ſo Divine a Prophet, which was all in a manner that they themſelves allowed Him. The cruel Perſecutions of other Grecian Princes againſt thoſe Chriſtians, that would not admit the uſe of Images, made great Numbers of them go over to the *Saracens*, who abhorred that Worſhip as much as themſelves. The Jews were allured by the profeſſion of Unity in the Godhead, which they pretended not to find in the Chriſtian Faith, and by the great Honor that was paid by the *Saracens* to *Moſes*, as a Prophet and a Lawgiver ſent immediately from God into the World. The Pagans met with an Opinion of the old Gentiliſm, in that of Predeſtination, which was the Stoick Principle, and that whereinto unhappy Men commonly fell, and ſought

for

for Refuge in the uncertain Conditions or Events of Life, under Tyrannical and Cruel Governments. So as ſome Roman Authors obſerve, that the Reigns of *Tiberius*, *Caligula* and *Nero* made more Stoicks in *Rome*, than the Precepts of *Zeno*, *Chryſippus*, and *Cleanthes*.

The great Extent and Power of the *Perſian* Branch or Empire, continued long among the *Saracens*, but was over-run at length by the *Turks* firſt, and then by the *Tartars* under *Tamerlane*, whoſe Race continued there till the time of *Iſhmael*, from whom the preſent Sophies are derived. This *Iſhmael* was an Enthuſiaſt, or at leaſt a Pretender to new Revelations in the *Mahometan* Religion. He profeſſed to Reform both their Doctrines and their Manners, and taught, That *Haly* alone of *Mahomet*'s Followers, ought to be owned and believed as His True Succeſſor, which made the *Perſians* ever ſince eſteem the *Turks* for Hereticks, as the *Turks* do them. He gained ſo many Followers by his new and refined Principles, or Profeſſions of Devotion, that he made himſelf King of *Perſia*, by the ſame way that the *Xeriffs* came to be Kings of *Morocco* and *Fez* about *Charles* the Fifth's time, and

Cromwel to be Protector of *England*, and *Oran Zeb* to be great Mogul in our Age, which were the four great Dominions of the Fanatick Strain.

The *Arabian* Branch of the *Saracen* Empire, after a long and mighty growth in *Ægypt* and *Arabia*, ſeems to have been at its Height under the great *Almanzor*, who was the illuſtrious and renowned Heroe of this Race, and muſt be allowed to have as much excelled, and as eminently, in Learning, Vertue, Piety, and Native Goodneſs, as in Power, in Valour, and in Empire: Yet this was extended from *Arabia* through *Ægypt*, and all the Northern Tracts of *Africa*, as far as the Weſtern Ocean, and over all the conſiderable Provinces of *Spain*. For it was in his Time, and by his Victorious Enſigns, that the Gothick Kingdom in *Spain* was Conquered, and the Race of thoſe Famous Princes ended in *Rodrigo*. All that Country was reduced under the *Saracen* Empire, (except the Mountains of *Leon* and *Oviedo*) and were afterwards divided into ſeveral Mooriſh Kingdoms, whereof ſome laſted to the Reign of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*. Nay, the *Saracen* Forces, after the Conqueſt of *Spain*, invaded the

the Southern parts of *France*, and proceeded with the ſame ſucceſs as far as *Tours*; till they were beaten and expelled by *Charles Martel*, who by thoſe exploits raiſed his Renown ſo high, as to give him the Ambition, of leaving the Kingdom of *France* to his own Line, in *Pepin* and *Charlemain*, by the deſpoſition and extinction of the firſt Race, which had laſted from *Pharamond*.

I do not remember ever to have read a greater and a nobler Character of any Prince, than of this Great *Almanzor*, in ſome Spaniſh Authors or Tranſlators of his Story out of the *Arabian* Tongue, wherein the Learning then remaining in the World flouriſh'd moſt; and that of ancient *Greece*, as it had been tranſlated into their Language, ſo it ſeems to have been, by the Acuteneſs and Excellency of thoſe more Southern Wits, in ſome parts very much improved.

This Kingdom continued Great, under the Caliphs of *Ægypt*, who degenerating from the Example and Vertues of *Almanzor*, came to be hated of their Subjects, and to ſecure themſelves from them, by a mighty Guard of *Circaſſian* Slaves. Theſe were bought young

from the Country now called *Mengrelia*, between the Euxine and Caſpian Seas, the ancient Seat of the *Amazons*, and which has, in paſt and preſent times, been obſerved to produce the braveſt Bodies of Men, and moſt beautiful of Women, in all the Eaſtern Regions. Theſe Slaves were called Mamalucs when they came into *Ægypt*, and were brought up with care, and in all Exerciſes and Diſcipline, that might render them the moſt martial Troops or Bands of Soldiers that cou'd any where be compoſed, and ſo they proved. The commander of this mighty band or guard of Mamulucks, was called their Sultan, who was abſolute over them, as the General of an Army is in time of War. They ſerved for ſome time to ſupport the Government of the Caliphs, and enſlave the *Ægyptians*, till one of the Sultans finding his own Power, and the general diſeſteem wherein the Caliph was fallen, by the effeminate Softneſs or Luxury of his Life, depoſed him firſt, then ſlew him, and took upon Himſelf the Government of *Ægypt*, under the name of Sultan, and reigned by the ſole Force and Support of his Mamaluc Troops, which were continually increaſed

ſed by the Merchandiſe and Tranſportation of *Circaſſian* Slaves. This Government laſted, with great Terror in *Ægypt*, between two and three hundred Years, during which time the new Sultans were elected, upon the Death or Depoſing of the Old, by the Choice of the Mamalucs, and always out of their own Bands. The Sons of the Deceaſed Sultans enjoyed the Eſtates and Riches left by their Fathers; but by the Conſtitutions of the Government no Son of a Sultan was ever either to ſucceed, or even to be elected Sultan: So that in this, contrary to all others ever known in the World, to be born of a Prince, was a certain and unalterable Excluſion from the Kingdom: and none was ever to be choſen Sultan, that had not been actually ſold for a Slave, brought from *Circaſſia*, and trained up a private Souldier in the Mamaluc Bands. Yet of ſo baſe Metal were formed ſeveral Men, who made mighty Figures in their Age, and no Nation made ſo brave a reſiſtance againſt the growing Empire of the Turks, as theſe Mamalucs did under their Sultans, till they were conquered by *Selim*, after a long War, which looked in Story like the Combat

of

of ſome fierce Tyger with a Savage Boar, while the Country that is waſted by them are Lookers on, and little concerned, under whoſe Dominion and Cruelty they fall.

It is not well agreed amongſt Authors, whether the Turks were firſt called into *Aſia* by the Greek or the Perſian Emperors; but 'tis by all, that falling down in great Numbers, they revolted from the Aſſiſtance of their Friends, ſet up for themſelves, embraced he Mahometan Religion, and improved the Principles of that Sect; by new Orders and Inventions (caſt wholly for Conqueſt and extent of Empire) they framed a Kingdom, which under the *Ottoman* Race ſubdued both the Greek Empire, and that of the *Arabians*, and rooted it ſelf in all thoſe vaſt Dominions as it continues to this day, with the Addition of many other Provinces to their Kingdom, but yet many more to the Mahumetan Belief. So this Empire of the Turks, like a freſh Graft upon one Branch of a vigorous Stock, covered wholly that upon which it was grafted, and out-grew in time the other which was natural, as the Perſian Branch.

The chief Principles upon which this fierce

fierce Government was founded and raiſed to ſuch a height, were firſt thoſe of *Mahomet*, already deduced, which by their ſenſual Paradice and Predeſtination, were great incentives of Courage and of Enterprize, joyned to the Spoils of the Conquered, both in their Lands, their Goods, and their Liberties, which were all ſeized at the pleaſure of the Conqueror.

A ſecond was, a Belief infuſed of Divine Deſignation of the Ottoman Line to reign among them for extent of their Territories, and Propagation of their Faith. This made him eſteemed, at leaſt by Adoption, as a Succeſſor of *Mahomet*, and both a Sovereign Lawgiver in Civil (and with the aſſiſtance of his Mufti) a Supreme Judge in all Religious Matters. And this Principle was ſo far improved among theſe People, that they held Obedience to be given in all things to the Will of their Ottoman Prince as to the Will of God, by whom they thought him deſigned; and that they were bound not only to obey his Commands with any hazard of their Lives againſt Enemies, but even by laying down their own, when ever he commanded, and with the ſame reſig-

nation

nation, that is by others thought due to the Decrees of Deſtiny, or the Will and Pleaſure of Almighty God. This gives ſuch an abandoned Submiſſion to all the frequent and cruel Executions among them by the Emperors Command, tho' upon the meer Turns of his own Humour, the Suggeſtions of the Miniſters, or the Flatteries and Revenges of thoſe Women he moſt truſteth, or loveth beſt.

A third was, the Diviſion of all Lands in conquered Countries, into Timariots, or Souldiers Shares, beſides what was reſerved and appropriated to the Emperor; and theſe Shares being only at pleaſure or for Life, leave him the ſole Lord of all Lands in his Dominion, which by the common ſuppoſition of Power following Land, muſt by conſequence leave him the moſt abſolute of any Sovereign in the World.

A fourth, the Allowance of no Honors nor Charges, no more than Lands to be hereditary, but all to depend upon the Will of the Princes. This applies every man's Ambition and Avarice to court his preſent Humour, ſerve his preſent Deſigns, and obey his Commands, of how different Nature ſoever they

they are, and how frequently changed.

A Fifth was, the Suppreſſion, and in a manner, extinction, of all Learning among the Subjects of their whole Empire, at leaſt the natural Turks and Janizaries, in whom the ſtrength of it conſiſts. This Ignorance makes way for the moſt blind Obedience, which is often ſhaken by Diſputes concerning Religion and Government, Liberty and Dominion, and other Arguments, of that or ſome ſuch nature.

A Sixth was, the Inſtitution of that famous Order of the Janizaries, than which a greater ſtrain of true and deep Politick, will hardly be obſerved in any Conſtitution. This conſiſted in the arbitrary choice of ſuch Chriſtian Children, throughout their Dominions, as were eſteemed moſt fit for the Emperors peculiar Service; and the choice was made, by the ſhews or promiſes of the greateſt growth or ſtrength of Body, vigor of Conſtitution, and boldneſs of Courage. Theſe were taken into the Emperors Care, and trained up in certain Colledges or Chambers, as they are called, and by Officers for that purpoſe, who endeavoured to improve all they could the advantages of Nature, by thoſe of

Education

Education and of Diſcipline. They were all diligently inſtructed in the Mahometan Religion, and in the Veneration of the Ottoman Race. Such of them as proved weak of Body, ſlothful, or puſillanimous, were turned to labour in Gardens, Buildings, or Drudgeries of the Palace; but all that were fit for Military Service, were at a certain Age entred into the Body of *Janizaries*, who were the Emperors Guards.

By this means the number of Chriſtians was continually leſſened throughout the Empire, and weakened by the loſs of ſuch, as were like to prove the braveſt and ſtrongeſt of their Races. That of *Muſſulmans* was increaſed in the ſame Proportions, and a mighty Body of Choſen Men kept up perpetually in Diſcipline and Pay, who eſteemed themſelves not only as Subjects or Slaves, but even Pupils and Domeſtick Servants of the Grand Seigniors Perſon and Family.

A ſeventh was, The great Temperance introduced into the general Cuſtoms of the Turks, but more particularly of the *Janizaries*, by the ſevere Defence and Abſtinence of Wine; and by the Proviſion of one only ſort of Food

Food for their Armies, which was Rice. Of this Grain, as every Man is able to carry upon occaſion enough for ſeveral days, ſo the quantity provided for every Expedition is but according to the number, with no diſtinction for the quality of Men; ſo that upon a March, or in a Camp, a Colonel has no more allowed him than a private Souldier. Nor are any, but General Officers, encumbred with Train or Baggage, which gives them mighty Advantages in their German Wars, among whom every Officer has a Family in proportion to his Command during the Campania, as well as in his Quarters; and the very Souldiers uſed to carry their Wives with them into the Field; whereas a Turkiſh Army conſiſts only of fighting Men.

The laſt I ſhall mention, is the ſpeedineſs as well as ſeverity of their Juſtice, both Civil and Military, which tho' often, ſubject thereby to Miſtakes, and deplored by the Complaints and Calamities of innocent perſons, yet it is maintained upon this Principle fixt among them, *That 'tis better two innocent Men ſhould dye, than one guilty live.* And this indeed agrees with the whole Caſt or Frame of their Empire, which

which ſeems to have been in all points the fierceſt, as that of the *Inca*'s was the gentleſt, that of *China* the wiſeſt, and that of the *Goths* the braveſt in the World.

The growth and progreſs of this Turkiſh Empire, under the Ottoman Race, was ſo ſudden and ſo violent, the two or three firſt Centuries, that it raiſed fear and wonder throughout the World, but ſeems at a ſtand for theſe laſt hundred years, having made no Conqueſt, ſince that of *Hungary*, except the remainder of *Candia*, after a very long War ſo bravely maintained by the ſmall Venetian State, againſt ſo mighty Powers. The reaſon of this may be drawn, not only from the Periods of Empire, that like natural Bodies, grow for a certain time, and to a certain ſize, which they are not to exceed, but from ſome other cauſes, both within and without, which ſeem obvious enough.

The firſt, a neglect in the obſervance of ſome of theſe Orders, which were eſſential to the Conſtitutions of their Government. For after the Conqueſt of *Cyprus*, and the example of *Selim*'s Intemperance, in thoſe and other Wines,

that

That Cuſtom and Humour prevailed againſt their Laws of Abſtinence, in that point ſo ſeverely enjoyned by *Mahomet*, and ſo long obſerved among all his Followers. And tho' the Turks and Janizaries endeavoured to avoid the Scandal and Puniſhment by drinking in private, yet they felt the effects in their Bodies, and in their Humours, whereof the laſt needs no inflaming among ſuch hot Tempers, and their Bodies are weakened by this Intemperance, joyned to their abandoned Luxury in point of Women.

Beſides, the Inſtitution of Janizaries has been much altered, by the Corruption of Officers, who have long ſuffered the Chriſtians to buy off that Tribute of their Children, and the Turks to purchaſe the preferment of theirs into that Order for Mony; by which means the choice of this Militia is not made from the ſtrongeſt and moſt warlike Bodies of Men, but from the Purſes of the Parents or Friends.

Theſe two Diſtempers have produced another much greater and more fatal than both, which is the mutinous Humour of this Body of Janizaries, who finding their own Strength, began

to make what Changes they pleaſed in the State, till having been long fluſh'd with the Blood of the Baſha's and Viſiers, they made bold at laſt with that of their Princes themſelves, and having depoſed and ſtrangled *Ibrahim*, they ſet up his Son, the preſent Emperor, then a Child. But the Diſtemper ended not there, they fell into new Factions, changed and murthered ſeveral Viſiers, and divided into ſo powerful Parties, and with ſo fierce Contentions, that the Baſſa of *Aleppo*, with an Army of an Hundred Thouſand Men, ſet up for himſelf (tho' under pretence of a counterfeit Son of *Morat*) and cauſed ſuch a Convulſion of this mighty State, that the Ottoman Race had ended, if this bold Adventurer had not upon Confidence in the Faith of a Treaty, been ſurprized and ſtrangled by order of old *Cuperly*, then newly come to be Grand Viſier, and abſolute in the Government. This Man entring the Miniſtry, at fourſcore years old, cruel by Nature, and hardned by Age, to allay the Heat of Blood in that diſtemper'd Body of the Janizaries, and the other Troops, cut off near Forty Thouſand of them in three years time

time, by private, ſuddain, and violent Executions, without Form of Laws or Tryals, or hearing any ſorts of Pleas or Defences. His Son, ſucceeding in the place of Grand Viſier, found the Empire ſo diſpirited, by his Fathers Cruelty, and the Militia remaining ſo ſpited and diſtemper'd, breathing new Commotions and Revenges, that he diverted the Humour by an eaſie War upon the *Venetians*, *Tranſilvanians*, or the remainders of *Hungary*, till by Temper and Conduct he had cloſed the Wounds which his Father had left bleeding, and reſtored the Strength of the Ottoman Empire to that Degree, that the ſucceeding Viſier invaded *Germany*, though againſt the Faith of Treaties, or of a Truce not expired, and at laſt beſieged *Vienna*, which is a Story too freſh, and too known to be told here.

Another Reaſon has been, the neglect of their Marine Affairs, or of their former Greatneſs at Sea; ſo as for many years they hardly pretend to any Succeſſes on that Element, but commonly ſay, *That God has given the Earth to the* Muſſulmans, *and the Sea to the* Chriſtians.

The laſt I ſhall obſerve, is the exceſſive uſe of Opium, with which they ſeek to repair the want of Wine, and to divert their Melancholly Reflections, upon the ill Condition of their Fortunes and Lives, ever uncertain, and depending upon the Will or Caprice of the Grand Seigniors, or of the Grand Viſiers Humor and Commands; but the effect of this Opium is very tranſitory; and tho' it allays for the preſent all Melancholly Fumes and Thoughts, yet when the Operation is paſt, they return again, which makes the uſe of it ſo often repeated; and nothing more diſpirits and enervates both the Body and the Mind of thoſe that frequently uſe it.

The external Reaſon of the Stand made this laſt Century, in the Growth of the Turkiſh Empire, ſeems to have been, their having before extended it, till they came to ſuch ſtrong Bars as were not to be broken. For they were grown to border upon the Perſian Empire to the Eaſt, upon the *Tartars* to the North, upon the *Æthiopians* to the South, and upon the German Empire to the Weſt, and turned their proſpect this way, as the eaſieſt and moſt plauſible

ſible, being againſt a Chriſtian State.

Now this Empire of *Germany*, conſiſting of ſuch large Territories, ſuch Numbers and Bodies of Warlike Men, when united in any common Cauſe or Quarrel, ſeems as ſtrongly conſtituted for Defence, as the Turkiſh is for Invaſion or Conqueſt. For being compoſed of many Civil and Moderate Governments, under Legal Princes or Free States, the Subjects are all fond of their Liberties and Laws, and abhor the falling under any Foreign or Arbitrary Dominions, and in ſuch a common Cauſe ſeem to be invincible. On the contrary, the Turkiſh Territories being all enſlaved, and thereby in a manner deſolated, have no Force but that of their ſtanding Armies, and their People in general care not either for the progreſs of their Victories abroad, nor even for the Defence of their own Countries, ſince they are ſure to loſe nothing, but may hope reaſonably to gain by any Change of Maſter, or of Government, which makes that Empire the worſe conſtituted that can be for Defence, upon any great Misfortune to their Armies.

The Effect of these two different Constitutions had been seen and felt (in all probability) to the wonder of the whole World, in these late Revolutions, if the Divine Decrees had not crossed all Human Appearances. For the Grand Visier might certainly have taken *Vienna*, before the Confederate Princes could have united for its Relief, if the Opinion of vast Treasures (there assembled for shelter from all the adjacent parts) had not given him a passionate desire to take the Town by Composition rather than by Storm, which must have left all its Wealth a Prey to the Soldiers, and not to the General.

If the Turks had possessed this Bulwark of Christendom, I do not conceive what could have hindered them from being Masters immediately of *Austria*, and all its depending Provinces; nor in another year of all *Italy*, or of the Southern Provinces of *Germany*, as they should have chosen to carry on their Invasion, or of both, in two or three years time; and how fatal this might have been to the rest of Christendom, or how it might have enlarged the

the Turkiſh Dominions, is eaſie to conjecture.

On th' other ſide, after the Deſeat of the Grand Viſiers Army, his Death, and that of ſo many brave Baſha's and other Captains, by the uſual Humour and Faction of that bloody Court: After ſuch Slaughters of the Janizaries, in ſo many Encounters, and ſuch an univerſal Diſcouragement of their Troops, that could no where withſtand the German Arms and Bravery; if upon the taking of *Belgrade*, the Emperor had been at the Head of the Forces then in his Service, united under one great Commander, and without dependance upon the ſeveral Princes by whom they were raiſed, I do not ſee what could have hindred them from conquering all before them, in that open Country of *Bulgaria* and *Romania*, nor from taking *Conſtantinople* it ſelf, upon the courſe of an eaſie War, in ſuch a Decline of the Turkiſh Empire, with ſo weak and diſpirited Troops as thoſe that remained, a Treaſure ſo exhauſted, a Court ſo divided, and ſuch a general Conſternation as appear'd in that great and

multuous City, upon theſe Occaſions.

But God Almighty had not decreed any ſo great Revolution, either for the Ruin or Advantage of Chriſtendom, and ſeems to have left both Empires at a Bay, and not likely to make any great Enterprizes on either ſide, but rather to fall into the Deſigns of a Peace, which may probably leave *Hungary* to the Poſſeſſion as well as Right of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the Turks in a condition of giving no great Fears or Dangers, in our Age, to the reſt of Chriſtendom.

Although the Mahumetan Empires were not raiſed like others, upon the Foundations, or by the Force of Heroic Vertue, but rather by the Practices of a ſubtile Man, upon the Simplicity of credulous People; yet the Growth of them has been influenced by ſeveral Princes, in whom ſome Beams at leaſt of that Sun have ſhined, ſuch as *Almanzor*, *Saladine*, *Ottoman*, and *Soly-man the Great*. And becauſe I have named the moſt Heroick Perſons of that Sect, it will be but Juſtice to No-

bler

bler Nations, to mention at the ſame time, thoſe who appear to have ſhined the brighteſt in their ſeveral Ages or Countries, the Luſtre of whoſe Vertues, as well as Greatneſs, has been ſullied with the feweſt noted Blemiſhes or Defaults, and who for deſerving well of their own Countries by their Actions, and of Mankind by their Examples, have eternized their Memories in the true Records of Fame, which is ever juſt to the Dead, how partial ſoever it may be to the Living, from the forced Applauſes of Power, or fulſom Adulations of ſervile Men.

Such as theſe were among the ancient Grecians, *Epimanondas*, *Pericles*, and *Ageſilaus*. Of the Old Roman State, the firſt *Scipio*, *Marcellus*, and *Paulus Æmilius*. Of the Roman Emperors, *Auguſtus*, *Trajan*, and *Marcus Antoninus*. Among the Goths, *Alaric* and *Theoderic*. Of the Weſtern Emperors, *Charlemain*, *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, and *Charles the Fifth*. Of the French Nation, *Pharamond*, *Charles Martel*, and *Henry* the Fourth, who began three of their Nobleſt Races. Of the *Suedes*, *Guſtavus Adolphus*. And of our own, *Richard* the

the Firſt, the *Black Prince*, and *Harry* the Fifth. To theſe I may add ſeven Famous Captains, or ſmaller Princes, whoſe Exploits and Vertues may juſtly allow them to be ranked with ſo great Kings and Emperors. *Ætius* and *Beliſarius*, the two laſt Great Commanders of the Roman Armies, after the Diviſion and Decay of that Mighty State, who ſet up the laſt Trophies, and made the braveſt Defences againſt the Numbers and Fury of thoſe Barbarous Nations, that invaded, and after their time tore in pieces that whole Empire. *George Caſtriot*, commonly call'd *Scanderbeg*, Prince of *Epire*, and *Huniades* Viceroy of *Hungaria*, who were two moſt Victorious Captains, and excellent Men, the true Champions of Chriſtendom whileſt they lived, and Terror of the Turks; who with ſmall Forces held at a Bay, for ſo many years, all the Powers of the Ottoman Empire. *Ferdinand Gonzalvo*, that Noble *Spaniard*, worthily Surnamed the Great Captain, who by his ſole Proweſs and Conduct, Conquered a Crown for his Maſter, which he might have worn for himſelf, if his Ambition had been equal

to

to his Courage and Vertues. *William* Prince of *Orange*, who reſtored the Belgick Liberties, and was the Founder of their State, eſteemed generally the beſt and wiſeſt Commander of his Age, and who at the ſudden point of his Death, as well as in the courſe of his Life, gave ſuch Teſtimonies of his being a true Lover of the People and Country he Govern'd. *Alexander Farneſe*, Prince of *Parma*, who by his Wiſdom, Courage and Juſtice, recovered Ten of the Seventeen Provinces, that were in a manner loſt to the Crown of *Spain*; made two famous Expeditions for relief of his Confederates into the Heart of *France*, and ſeemed to revive the ancient Roman Vertue and Diſcipline in the World, and to bring the noble Genius of *Italy* to appear once more upon the Stage.

Who-ever has a mind to trace the Paths of Heroick Vertue, which lead to the Temple of True Honour and Fame, need ſeek them no further, than in the Stories and Examples of thoſe Illuſtrious Perſons here Aſſembled. And ſo I leave this Crown of never-

fading

fading Lawrel, in full View of ſuch great and noble Spirits, as ſhall deſerve it, in this or in ſucceeding Ages. Let them win it and wear it.

SECT.

ESSAY IV.

Of Poetry.

THE Two common Shrines, to which moſt Men offer up the Application of their Thoughts and their Lives, are Profit and Pleaſure, and by their Devotions to either of theſe, they are vulgarly diſtinguiſhed into Two Sects, and called either Buſie or Idle Men. Whether theſe Terms differ in meaning, or only in ſound, I know very well may be diſputed, and with appearance enough, ſince the Covetous Man takes perhaps as much Pleaſure in his Gains as the Voluptuous does in his Luxury, and would not purſue his Buſineſs unleſs he were pleaſed with it, upon the laſt Account of what he moſt wiſhes and deſires, nor would care for the encreaſe of his Fortunes, unleſs he

pro-

propoſed thereby, that of his Pleaſures too, in one kind or other, ſo that Pleaſure may be ſaid to be his end, whether he will allow to find it in his purſuit or no. Much ado there has been, many Words ſpent, or (to ſpeak with more reſpect to the antient Philoſophers) many Diſputes have been raiſed upon this Argument, I think to little purpoſe, and that all has been rather, an Exerciſe of Wit than an Enquiry after Truth, and all Controverſies that can never end, had better perhaps never begin. The beſt is to take Words as they are moſt commonly ſpoken and meant, like Coyn as it moſt currantly paſſes, without raiſing ſcruples upon the weight or the allay, unleſs the cheat or the defect, be groſs and evident. Few things in the World or none, will bear too much refining, a Thred too fine Spun will eaſily break, and the Point of a Needle too finely Filed. The uſual acceptation, takes Profit and Pleaſure, for two different things, and not only calls the Followers or Votaries of them, by ſeveral Names of Buſie and of Idle Men, but diſtinguiſhes the Faculties of the mind, that

are

are Converſant about them, calling the Operations of the firſt, Wiſdom, and of the other, Wit, which is a *Saxon* Word, that is uſed to expreſs, what the *Spaniards* and *Italians* call *Ingenio*, and the *French*, *Eſprit*, both from the *Latin*, but I think Wit more peculiarly ſignifies that of *Poetry*, as may occur upon Remarks of the *Runick* Language. To the firſt of theſe are Attributed, the Inventions or Productions of things generally eſteemed the moſt neceſſary, uſeful, or profitable to Human Life, either in private Poſſeſſions or publick Inſtitutions: To the other, thoſe Writings or Diſcourſes, which are the moſt Pleaſing or Entertaining, to all that read or hear them; Yet according to the Opinion of thoſe that link them together: As the Inventions of Sages and Lawgivers themſelves, do pleaſe as well as profit thoſe who approve and follow them; ſo thoſe of Poets, Inſtruct and Profit as well as Pleaſe ſuch as are Converſant in them; and the happy mixture of both theſe, makes the excellency in both thoſe compoſitions, and has given occaſion for eſteeming,

or

or at leaſt for calling, Heroick Virtue and Poetry, Divine.

The Names given to Poets, both in *Greek* and *Latin*, expreſs the ſame Opinion of them in thoſe Nations; The *Greek* ſignifying Makers or Creators, ſuch as raiſe admirable Frames and Fabricks out of nothing, which ſtrike with wonder and with pleaſure, the Eyes and Imaginations of thoſe who behold them; The *Latin* makes the ſame Word, common to Poets and to Prophets. Now as Creation, is the firſt Attribute, and higheſt Operation of Divine Power, ſo is Prophecy the greateſt Emanation of Divine Spirit in the World. As the Names in thoſe Two Learned Languages, ſo the Cauſes of Poetry, are by the Writers of them, made to be Divine, and to proceed from a Cœleſtial Fire or Divine Inſpiration; and by the vulgar Opinions, recited or related to in many paſſages of thoſe Authors, the Effects of Poetry were likewiſe thought Divine and Supernatural, and Power of Charms and Enchantments were aſcribed to it.

Carmina vel Cœlo poſſunt deducere Lunam,
Carmi-

Carminibus Circe ſocios mutavit Uleſſis,
Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur An-
guis.

But I can eaſily admire Poetry, and yet without adoring it, I can allow it to ariſe from the greateſt Excellency of natural Temper, or the greateſt Race of Native Genius, without exceeding the reach of what is Human, or giving it any Approaches of Divinity, which is, I doubt debaſed or diſhonoured, by aſcribing to it any thing, that is in the compaſs of our Action, or even Comprehenſion, unleſs it be raiſed by an immediate influence from it ſelf. I cannot allow Poetry to be more Divine in its effects, than in its cauſes, or any Operation produced by it, to be more than purely natural, or to deſerve any other ſort of wonder, than thoſe of Muſick, or of Natural Magick, however any of them have appeared to minds little Verſed in the Speculations of Nature, of occult Qualities, and the force of Numbers or of Sounds. Whoever talks of drawing down the Moon from Heaven, by force of Verſes or of Charms, either

believes not himſelf, or too eaſily believes what others told him, or perhaps follows an Opinion, begun by the Practiſe of ſome Poet, upon the facility of ſome People, who knowing the time when an Ecclypſe would happen, told them, he would by his Charms call down the Moon at ſuch an hour, and was by them thought to have performed it.

When I read that Charming Deſcription in *Virgil*'s Eight Eccloque, of all ſorts of Charms and Faſcinations by Verſes, by Images, by Knots, by Numbers, by Fire, by Hearbs, imployed upon occaſion of a violent Paſſion, from a jealous or diſappointed Love: I have recourſe to the ſtrong Impreſſion of Fables and of Poetry, to the eaſy miſtakes of Popular Opinions, to the Force of Imagination, to the Secret Virtues of ſeveral Hearbs, and to the Powers of Sounds; And I am ſorry, the Natural Hiſtory, or Account of Faſcination, has not imployed the Pen of ſome Perſon, of ſuch excellent Wit, and deep Thought and Learning, as *Caſaubon*, who Writ that curious and uſeful Treatiſe of *Enthuſiaſm*, and by

by it discovered the hidden or mistaken Sources of that Delusion, so frequent in all Regions and Religions of the World, and which had so fatally spread over our Country in that Age, in which this Treatise was so seasonably published. 'Tis much to be lamented, That he lived not to compleat that Work; in the Second Part he promised, or that his Friends neglected the publishing it, if it were left in Papers, though loose and unfinished. I think a clear Account of Enthusiasm and Fascination, from their natural Causes, would very much deserve from Mankind in general, as well as from the Common-wealth of Learning, might perhaps prevent many publick disorders, and save the Lifes of many innocent, deluded or deluding People, who suffer so frequently, upon Account of Witches and Wizards. I have seen many miserable Examples of this kind, in my youth at home, and tho the Humor or Fashion, be a good deal worn out of the World, within Thirty or Forty Years past, yet it still remain in several remote Parts of *Germany*, *Sueden*, and some other Countries.

But to return to the Charms of Poetry, if the forſaken Lover, in that Eclogue of *Virgil*, had expected onely from the Force of her Verſes, or her Charms, what is the Burthen of the Song, To bring *Daphnis* home from the Town where he was gone and engaged in a new Amour; if ſhe had pretended onely to revive an old fainting Flame, or to damp a new one that was kindling in his Breaſt, ſhe might, for ought I know, have compaſſed ſuch Ends, by the Power of ſuch Charms, and without other than very Natural Enchantments. For there is no Queſtion, but true Poetry may have the Force, to raiſe Paſſions and to allay them, to change and to extinguiſh them, to temper Joy and Grief, to raiſe Love and Fear, nay to turn Fear into Boldneſs, and Love into Indifference, and into Hatred it ſelf; and I eaſily believe, That the diſheartened *Spartans* were new animated, and recovered their loſt Courage, by the Songs of *Tyrtæus*, that the Cruelty and Revenge of *Phalaris*, were changed by the Odes of *Steſichorus*, into the greateſt Kindneſs and Eſteem, and that many men were as paſſionately Ena-

Enamoured, by the Charms of *Sappho*'s Wit and Poetry, as by thoſe of Beauty, in *Flora* or *Thais*; for 'tis not onely Beauty gives Love, but Love gives Beauty to the Object that raiſes it; and if the Poſſeſſion be ſtrong enough, let it come from what it will, there is always Beauty enough in the Perſon that gives it. Nor is it any great Wonder, that ſuch Force ſhould be found in Poetry, ſince in it are aſſembled all the Powers of Eloquence, of Muſick, and of Picture, which are all allowed to make ſo ſtrong Impreſſions upon Humane Minds. How far Men have been affected with all or any of theſe, needs little Proof or Teſtimony; The Examples have been known enough in *Greece* and in *Italy*, where ſome have fallen down right in Love, with the Raviſhing Beauties of a lovely Object, drawn by the Skill of an admirable Painter; nay, Painters themſelves, have fallen in Love with ſome of their own Productions, and doated on them, as on a Miſtriſs or a fond Child, which diſtinguiſhes among the *Italians*, the ſeveral Pieces that are done by the ſame Hand, into ſeveral Degrees of thoſe made, *Con*

Studio, *con Diligenza*, or *con Amore*; whereof the laſt are ever the moſt excelling. But there needs no more Inſtances of this kind, than the Stories related, and believed by the beſt Authors, as known and undiſputed; Of the two young *Græcians*, one whereof ventured his Life, to be lock'd up all Night in the Temple, and ſatisfie his Paſſion with the Embraces and Enjoyment of a Statue of *Venus*, that was there ſet up, and deſigned for another ſort of Adoration; The other pined away and dyed, for being hindered his perpetually gazing, admiring, and embracing a Statue at *Athens*.

The Powers of Muſick, are either felt or known by all Men, and are allowed to work ſtrangely upon the Mind and the Body, the Paſſions and the Blood, to raiſe Joy and Grief, to give Pleaſure and Pain, to cure Diſeaſes, and the Mortal Sting of the *Tarantula*, to give Motions to the Feet as well as the Heart, to Compoſe diſturbed Thoughts, to aſſiſt and heighten Devotion it ſelf. We need no Recourſe to the Fables of *Orpheus* or *Amphion*, or the Force of their Muſick upon Fiſhes and Beaſts; 'tis enough that

that we find the Charming of Serpents, and the Cure or Allay of an evil Spirit or Poſſeſſion, attributed to it in Sacred Writ.

For the Force of Eloquence, that ſo often raiſed and appeaſed the Violence of Popular Commotions, and cauſed ſuch Convulſions in the *Athenian* State, no Man need more, to make him Acknowledge it, than to conſider *Cæſar*, one of the greateſt and wiſeſt of mortal Men, come upon the Tribunal, full of Hatred and Revenge, and with a determined Reſolution to Condemn *Labienus*, yet upon the Force of *Cicero*'s Eloquence, (in an Oration for his Defence) begin to change Countenance, turn pale, ſhake to that degree, that the Papers he held, fell out of his hand, as if he had been frighted with Words, that never was ſo with Blows, and at laſt change all his Anger into Clemency, and acquit the brave Criminal, inſtead of condemning him.

Now if the Strength of theſe three mighty Powers, be united in Poetry, we need not wonder, that ſuch Virtues, and ſuch Honours have been attributed to it, that it has been thought to be inſpired, or has been called Di-

vine, and yet I think it will not be diſputed, that the Force of Wit, and of Reaſoning, the Height of Conceptions and Expreſſions, may be found in Poetry as well as in Oratory, the Life and Spirit of Repreſentation or Picture, as much as in Painting, and the Force of Sounds as well as in Muſick; And how far theſe three natural Powers together may extend, and to what Effects, (even ſuch as may be miſtaken for Supernatural or Magical) I leave it to ſuch Men to Conſider, whoſe Thoughts turn to ſuch Speculations as theſe, or who by their native Temper and Genius, are in ſome degree diſpoſed to receive the Impreſſions of them. For my part, I do not wonder, that the famous Doctor *Harvey*, when he was reading *Virgil*, ſhould ſometimes throw him down upon the Table, and ſay he had a Devil; nor that the learned *Meric Caſaubon*, ſhould find ſuch Charming Pleaſures and Emotions, as he deſcribes, upon the reading ſome Parts of *Lucretius*, that ſo many ſhould cry, and with downright Tears, at ſome Tragedies of *Shake-ſpear*, and ſo many more ſhould feel ſuch Turns or Curdling of their

Blood,

Blood, upon the reading or hearing ſome excellent Pieces of Poetry, nor that *Octavia* fell into a Swound, at the Recital made by *Virgil* of thoſe Verſes in the Sixth of his *Æneides*.

This is enough to aſſert the Powers of Poetry, and diſcover the Ground of thoſe Opinions of old, which derived it from Divine Inſpiration, and gave it ſo great a ſhare, in the ſuppoſed Effects of Sorcery or Magick. But as the Old Romances, ſeem to leſſen the Honor of true Proweſs and Valor in their Knights, by giving ſuch a part in all their Chief Adventures to Enchantment, ſo the true excellency and juſt eſteem of Poetry, ſeems rather debaſed than exalted, by the Stories or Belief of the Charms performed by it, which among the *Northern* Nations, grew ſo ſtrong and ſo general, that about Five or Six Hundred Years ago, all the *Runick* Poetry came to be decryed, and thoſe antient Characters, in which they were Written, to be aboliſhed by the Zeal of Biſhops, and even by Orders and Decrees of State, which has given a great Maim, or rather an irrecoverable Loſs to the Story of thoſe *Northern* Kingdoms, the Seat

of

of our Anceſtors, in all the *Weſtern* Parts of *Europe.*

The more true and natural Source of Poetry may be diſcovered, by obſerving to what God, this Inſpiration was aſcribed by the Antients, which was *Apollo* or the Sun, eſteemed among them the God of Learning in general, but more particularly of Muſick and of Poetry. The Myſtery of this Fable, means I ſuppoſe, that a certain Noble and Vital Heat of Temper, but eſpecially of the Brain, is the true Spring of theſe Two Arts or Sciences: This was that Cœleſtial Fire, which gave ſuch a pleaſing Motion and Agitation to the minds of thoſe Men, that have been ſo much admired in the World, That raiſes ſuch infinite images of things, ſo agreeable and delightful to Mankind: By the influence of this Sun, are produced thoſe Golden and Inexhauſted Mines of Invention, which has furniſhed the World with Treaſures ſo highly eſteemed, and ſo univerſally known and uſed, in all the Regions that have yet been diſcovered. From this ariſes that Elevation of Genius, which can never be produced by any Art or Study, by Pains

or

or by Induſtry, which cannot be taught by Precepts or Examples; and therefore is agreed by all, to be the pure and free Gift of Heaven or of Nature, and to be a Fire kindled out of ſome hidden ſpark of the very firſt Conception.

But tho' Invention be the Mother of Poetry, yet this Child, is like all others, born naked, and muſt be Nouriſhed with Care, Cloathed with Exactneſs and Elegance, Educated with Induſtry, Inſtructed with Art, Improved by Application, Corrected with Severity, and Accompliſhed with Labor and with Time, before it Arrives at any great Perfection or Growth: 'Tis certain that no Compoſition, requires ſo many ſeveral Ingredients, or of more different ſorts than this, nor that to excel in any qualities, there are neceſſary ſo many Gifts of Nature, and ſo many improvements of Learning and of Art. For there muſt be an univerſal Genius, of great Compaſs as well as great Elevation. There muſt be ſpritely Imagination or Fancy, fertile in a thouſand Productions, ranging over infinite Ground, piercing into every Corner, and by the Light of that

that true Poetical Fire, diſcovering a thouſand little Bodies or Images in the World, and Similitudes among them, unſeen to common Eyes, and which could not be diſcovered, without the Rays of that Sun.

Beſides the heat of Invention and livelineſs of Wit, there muſt be the coldneſs of good Senſe and ſoundneſs of Judgment, to diſtinguiſh between Things and Conceptions, which at firſt ſight, or upon ſhort glances, ſeem alike, to chooſe among infinite Productions of Wit and Fancy, which are worth preſerving and cultivating, and which are better ſtifled in the Birth, or thrown away when they are born, as not worth bringing up. Without the Forces of Wit, all Poetry is flat and languiſhing; without the ſuccours of Judgment, 'tis wild and extravagant. The true wonder of Poeſy is, That ſuch contrarys muſt meet to compoſe it, a Genius both Penetrating and Solid; in Expreſſion both Delicacy and Force; and the Frame or Fabrick of a true Poem, muſt have ſomething both Sublime and Juſt, Amazing and Agreeable. There muſt be a great Agitation of Mind to Invent, a great Calm to Judge and

and Correct; there must be upon the same Tree, and at the same Time, both Flower and Fruit. To work up this Metal into exquisite Figure, there must be imploy'd the Fire, the Hammer, the Chizel, and the File. There must be a general Knowledge both of Nature and of Arts, and to go the lowest that can be, there are required *Genius*, Judgment, and Application; for without this last, all the rest will not serve turn, and none ever was a great Poet, that applyed himself much to any thing else.

When I speak of Poetry, I mean not an Ode or an Elegy, a Song, or a Satyr, nor by a Poet the Composer of any of these, but of a just Poem; And after all I have said, 'tis no wonder, there should be so few have appeared, in any Parts or any Ages of the World, or that such as have, should be so much admired, and have almost Divinity ascribed to them, and to their Works.

Whatever has been among those, who are mentioned with so much Praise or Admiration by the Antients, but are lost to us, and unknown any further than their Names, I think no Man has been so bold among those that remain

to

to queſtion the Title of *Homer* and *Virgil*, not onely to the firſt Rank, but to the ſupream Dominion in this State, and from whom, as the great Law-givers as well as Princes, all the Laws and Orders of it, are, or may be derived. *Homer* was without Diſpute, the moſt Univerſal *Genius* that has been known in the World, and *Virgil* the moſt Accompliſh't. To the firſt muſt be allowed, the moſt fertile Invention, the richeſt Vein, the moſt general Knowledge, and the moſt lively Expreſſion; To the laſt, the nobleſt Idea's, the juſteſt Inſtitution, the wiſeſt Conduct, and the choyceſt Elocution. To ſpeak in the Painters Terms, we find in the Works of *Homer*, the moſt Spirit, Force, and Life; in thoſe of *Virgil*, the beſt Deſign, the trueſt Proportions, and the greateſt Grace; The Colouring in both ſeems equal, and indeed, in both is admirable. *Homer* had more Fire and Rapture, *Virgil* more Light and Sweetneſs; or at leaſt the Poetical Fire was more raging in one, but clearer in the other, which makes the firſt more amazing, and the latter more agreeable. The Oare was richer in one, but in to'ther more refined,

fined, and better allay'd, to make up excellent Work. Upon the whole, I think it muſt be confeſſed, that *Homer* was of the two, and perhaps, of all others, the vaſteſt, the ſublimeſt, and the moſt wonderful *Genius*; and that he has been generally ſo eſteemed, there cannot be a greater Teſtimony given, than what has been by ſome obſerved, that not onely the Greateſt Maſters, have found in his Works, the beſt and trueſt Principles of all their Sciences or Arts, but that the nobleſt Nations, have derived from them, the Original of their ſeveral Races, though it be hardly yet agreed, Whether his Story be True, or Fiction. In ſhort, theſe two immortal Poets, muſt be allowed to have ſo much excelled in their kinds, as to have exceeded all Compariſon, to have even extinguiſhed Emulation, and in a manner confined true Poetry, not onely to their two Languages, but to their very Perſons. And I am apt to believe ſo much of the true *Genius* of Poetry in general, and of its Elevation in theſe two particulars, that I know not, whether of all the Numbers of Mankind, that live within the Compaſs of a Thouſand Years; for one

Man

Man that is born Capable of making ſuch a Poet as *Homer* or *Virgil*, there may not be a Thouſand born Capable of making as great Generals of Armies, or Miniſters of State, as any the moſt Renowned in Story.

I do not here intend to make a further Critick upon Poetry, which were too great a Labour, nor to give Rules for it, which were as great a Preſumption: Beſides, there has been ſo much Paper blotted upon theſe Subjects, in this Curious and Cenſuring Age, that 'tis all grown tedious or Repetition. The Modern *French* Wits (or Pretenders) have been very ſevere in their Cenſures, and exact in their Rules, I think to very little purpoſe; For I know not, why they might not have contented themſelves, with thoſe given by *Ariſtotle* and *Horace*, and have Tranſlated them rather than Commented upon them; for all they have done has been no more, ſo as they ſeem, by their Writings of this kind, rather to have valued themſelves, than improved any body elſe. The Truth is, there is ſomething in the *Genius* of Poetry, too Libertine to be confined to ſo many Rules, and whoever goes about to ſubject

ject it to ſuch Conſtraints, loſes both it's Spirit and Grace, which are ever Native, and never learnt even of the beſt Maſters. 'Tis as if to make excellent Honey, you ſhould cut off the Wings of your Bees, confine them to their Hive or their Stands, and lay Flowers before them, ſuch as you think the ſweeteſt, and like to yield the fineſt Extraction; you had as good pull out their Stings, and make arrant Drones of them. They muſt range through Fields, as well as Gardens, chooſe ſuch Flowers as they pleaſe, and by Proprieties and Scents they only know and diſtinguiſh: They muſt Work up their Cells with Admirable Art, extract their Honey with infinite Labour, and ſever it from the Wax, with ſuch Diſtinction and Choyce, as belongs to none but themſelves to perform or to judge.

It would be too much Mortification, to theſe great Arbitrary Rulers, among the *French* Writers, or our own, to Obſerve the Worthy Productions that have been formed by their Rules, the Honour they have received in the World, or the Pleaſure they have given Mankind. But to comfort them,

I do not know, there was any great Poet in *Greece*, after the Rules of that Art laid down by *Ariſtotle*, nor in *Rome*, after thoſe by *Horace*, which yet none of our Moderns pretend to have out-done. Perhaps *Theocritus* and *Lucan*, may be alledg'd againſt this Aſſertion, but the firſt offered no further, than at Idils or Eclogues; and the laſt, though he muſt be avowed for a true and a happy *Genius*, and to have made ſome very high Flights, yet he is ſo unequal to himſelf, and his Muſe is ſo young, that his Faults are too noted, to allow his Pretences. *Fæliciter audet*, is the true Character of *Lucan*, as of *Ovid*, *Luſit amabiliter*. After all, the utmoſt that can be atchieved, or I think pretended, by any Rules in this Art, is but to hinder ſome men from being very ill Poets, but not to make any Man a very good one. To judge who is ſo, we need go no further for Inſtruction, than three Lines of *Horace*.

—— *Ille meum qui Pectus inaniter angit,*
Irritat, mulcet, falſis terroribus implet,
Ut Magus, *& mode me* Thebis, *modo ponit*
(Athenis.

He

He is a Poet,

Who vainly anguiſhes my Breaſt,
Provokes, allays, and with falſe Terror
(fills,
Like a Magician, and now ſets me down
In Thebes, *and now in* Athens.

Whoever does not affect and move the ſame preſent Paſſions in you, that he repreſents in others, and at other times, raiſe Images about you, as a Conjurer is ſaid to do Spirits, Tranſport you to the Places and to the Perſons he deſcribes, cannot be judged to be a Poet, though his Meaſures are never ſo juſt, his Feet never ſo ſmooth, or his Sounds never ſo ſweet.

But inſtead of Critick, or Rules concerning Poetry, I ſhall rather turn my Thoughts to the Hiſtory of it, and obſerve the Antiquity, the Uſes, the Changes, the Decays, that have attended this great Empire of Wit.

It is I think generally agreed, to have been the firſt ſort of Writing, that has been uſed in the World, and in ſeveral Nations to have preceded the very Invention or Uſage of Letters. This laſt is certain in *America*,

where the firſt *Spaniards* met with many ſtrains of Poetry, and left ſeveral of them Tranſlated into their Language, which ſeem to have flowed from a true Poetick Vein, before any Letters were known in thoſe Regions. The ſame is probable of the *Scythians*, the *Græcians*, and the *Germans*. *Ariſtotle* ſays, the *Agathyrſi* had their Laws all in Verſe; and *Tacitus*, that the *Germans* had no Annals nor Records but what were ſo; and for the *Græcian* Oracles delivered in them, we have no certain Account when they began, but rather reaſon to believe it was before the Introduction of Letters from *Phænicia* among them. *Pliny* tells it, as a thing known, that *Pherecides* was the firſt who writ Proſe in the *Greek* Tongue, and that he lived about the time of *Cyrus*, whereas *Homer* and *Heſiod*, lived ſome Hundred of Years before that Age; and *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Muſæus*, ſome Hundreds before them: And of the *Sybils*, ſeveral were before any of thoſe, and in times as well as places, whereof we have no clear Records now remaining. What *Solon* and *Pythagoras* Writ, is ſaid to have been in Verſe, who were ſomething older than *Cyrus*;

and

and before them, were *Archilochus*, *Simonides*, *Tyrtæus*, *Sappho*, *Steſichorus*, and ſeveral other Poets Famous in their times. The ſame thing is reported of *Chaldæa*, *Syria* and *China*; and among the antient *Weſtern Goths* (our Anceſtors) the *Runick* Poetry, ſeems to have been as old as their Letters; and their Laws, their Precepts of Wiſdom as well as their Records, their Religious Rites as well as their Charms and Incantations, to have been all in Verſe.

Among the *Hebrews*, and even in Sacred Writ the moſt antient, is by ſome Learned Men eſteemed to be the Book of *Job*, and that it was Written before the time of *Moſes*, and that it was a Tranſlation into *Hebrew* out of the old *Chaldæan* or *Arabian* Language. It may probably be conjectured, that he was not a *Jew*, from the place of his abode, which appears to have been Seated between the *Chaldæans* of one ſide, and the *Sabæans* (who were of *Arabia*) on the other, and by many paſſages, of that admirable and truly inſpired Poem, the Author ſeems to have lived in ſome parts near the Mouth of *Euphrates* or the

Perſian Gulf, where he contemplated the Wonders of the deep as well as the other Works of Nature, common to thoſe Regions. Nor is it eaſy to find any Traces of the *Moſaical* Rites or Inſtitutions, either in the Divine Worſhip, or the Morals related to, in thoſe Writings: For not only Sacrifices and Praiſes, were much more antient in Religious Service, than the Age of *Moſes*; But the Opinion of one Deity, and Adored without any Idol or Repreſentation was Profeſſed and Received among the antient *Perſians* and *Hetruſcans* and *Chaldæans*. So that if *Job* was an *Hebrew*, it's probable he may have been of the Race of *Heber* who lived in *Chaldæa*, or of *Abraham* who is ſuppoſed to have left that Country for the Profeſſion or Worſhip of one God, rather than from the Branch of *Iſaac* and *Iſrael*, who lived in the Land of *Canaan*. Now I think it is out of Controverſy, that the Book of *Job* was Written Originally in Verſe, and was a Poem upon the Subject of the Juſtice and Power of God, and in Vindication of His Providence, againſt the common Arguments of Atheiſtical Men, who took occaſion to diſpute it,

from

from the uſual Events of Human things, by which ſo many ill and impious Men ſeem Happy and Proſperous in the courſe of their Lives, and ſo many Pious and Juſt Men, ſeem Miſerable or Afflicted. The *Spaniſh* Tranſlation of the *Jews* in *Ferrara*, which pretends to render the *Hebrew* (as near as could be) word for word; and for which, all Tranſlators of the Bible ſince, have had great Regard, gives us the Two firſt Chapters, and the Laſt from the ſeventh Verſe in Proſe, as an Hiſtorical Introduction and Concluſion of the Work, and all the reſt in Verſe, except the Tranſitions from one Part or Perſon of this Sacred Dialogue to another.

But if we take the Books of *Moſes* to be the moſt antient in the *Hebrew* Tongue, yet the Song of *Moſes* may probably have been Written before the reſt; as that of *Deborah*, before the Book of *Judges*, being Praiſes ſung to God, upon the Victories or Succeſſes of the *Iſraelites*, related in both. And I never read the laſt, without obſerving in it, as True and Noble Strains of Poetry and Picture, as in any other Language whatſoever, in ſpight of all Diſadvantages from Tranſlations into ſo different

Tongues and common Proſe. If an Opinion of ſome Learned Men both Modern and Antient could be allowed, that *Eſdras* was the Writer or Compiler of the firſt Hiſtorical Parts of the Old Teſtament, tho' from the ſame Divine Inſpiration as that of *Moſes* and the other Prophets, then the Pſalms of *David* would be the firſt Writings we find in *Hebrew*; and next to them, the Song of *Solomon* which was Written when he was young, and *Eccleſiaſtes* when he was old: So that from all ſides, both Sacred and Prophane, It appears that *Poetry* was the firſt ſort of Writing, known and uſed in the ſeveral Nations of the World.

It may ſeem ſtrange I confeſs, upon the firſt thought, that a ſort of Style ſo regular and ſo difficult, ſhould have grown in uſe, before the other ſo eaſy and ſo looſe: But if we conſider, what the firſt end of Writing was, it will appear probable from Reaſon as well as Experience; For the True and General End, was but the help of Memory, in preſerving that of Words and of Actions, which would otherwiſe have been loſt, and ſoon vaniſh away, with the Tranſitory Paſſage of Human Breath and

and Life. Before the Diſcourſes and Diſputes of Philoſophers, began to buſie or amuſe the *Grecian* Wits, there was nothing Written in Proſe, but either Laws, ſome ſhort Sayings of Wiſe men, or ſome Riddles, Parables or Fables, wherein were couched by the Antients, many Strains of Natural or Moral Wiſdom and Knowledge; and beſides theſe, ſome ſhort Memorials of Perſons, Actions, and of Time. Now 'tis obvious enough to conceive, how much eaſier, all ſuch Writings ſhould be Learnt and Remembred, in Verſe than in Proſe, not only by the Pleaſure of Meaſures and of Sounds, which gives a great Impreſſion to Memory, but by the order of Feet which makes a great Facility of Tracing one Word after another, by knowing what ſort of Foot or Quantity, muſt neceſſarily have preceded or followed the Words we retain and deſire to make up.

This made Poetry ſo neceſſary, before Letters were Invented, and ſo convenient afterwards; and ſhews, that the great Honor and general Requeſt, wherein it has always been, has not proceeded only, from the Pleaſure and Delight, but likewiſe from the Uſefulneſs and Profit

Profit of Poetical Writings.

This leads me naturally to the Subjects of Poetry, which have been generally, Praiſe, Inſtruction, Story, Love, Grief, and Reproach. Praiſe, was the Subject of all the Songs and Pſalms mentioned in Holy Writ, of the Hymns of *Orpheus*, of *Homer* and many others; Of the *Carmina Secularia* in *Rome*, Compoſed all and Deſigned for the Honor of their Gods; Of *Pindar*, *Steſichorus*, and *Tyrtaus*, in the Praiſes of Virtue or Virtuous Men. The Subject of *Job*, is Inſtruction concerning the Attributes of God and the Works of Nature. Thoſe of *Simonides*, *Phocilides*, *Theognis*, and ſeveral other of the ſmaller *Greek* Poets, with what paſſes for *Pythagoras*, are Inſtructions in Morality: The firſt Book of *Heſiod* and *Virgils Georgicks*, in Agriculture, and *Lucretius* in the deepeſt natural Philoſophy. Story, is the proper Subject of *Heroick* Poems, as *Homer* and *Virgil* in their inimitable *Iliads* and *Æneids*; And *Fable*, which is a ſort of Story, in the *Metamorphoſis* of *Ovid*. The *Lyrick* Poetry has been chiefly Converſant about Love, tho' turned often upon Praiſe too; and the Vein of Paſtorals and Eclogues has run the ſame

ſame courſe, as may be obſerved in *Theocritus*, *Virgil*, and *Horace*, who was I think, the firſt and laſt of true *Lyrick* Poets among the *Latins:* Grief has been always the Subject of *Elegy*, and Reproach that of *Satyr*. The *Dramatick* Poeſy has been Compoſed of all theſe, but the chief end ſeems to have been Inſtruction, and under the diſguiſe of Fables, or the pleaſure of Story; to ſhew the Beauties and the Rewards of Virtue, the Deformitys and Miſfortunes, or Puniſhment of Vice: By Examples of both, to Encourage one, and Deter Men from the other; to Reform ill Cuſtoms, Correct ill Manners, and Moderate all violent Paſſions. Theſe are the general Subjects of both Parts; tho' Comedy give us but the Images of common Life, and Tragedy thoſe of the greater and more extraordinary Paſſions and Actions among Men. To go further upon this Subject, would be to tread ſo beaten Paths, that to Travel in them, only raiſes Duſt, and is neither of Pleaſure nor of Uſe.

For the Changes that have happened in Poetry, I ſhall obſerve one Antient, and the others that are Modern will be too Remarkable, in the De-

Declines or Decays of this great Empire of Wit. The firſt Change of Poetry was made, by Tranſlating it into Proſe, or cloathing it in thoſe looſe Robes, or common Veils that diſguiſed or covered the true Beauty of its Features, and Exactneſs of its Shape. This was done firſt by *Æſop* in *Greek*, but the Vein was much more antient in the *Eaſtern* Regions, and much in Vogue, as we may obſerve, in the many Parables uſed in the old Teſtament, as well as in the New. And there is a Book of Fables, of the ſort of *Æſop's*, Tranſlated out of *Perſian*, and pretended to have been ſo into that Language out of the antient *Indian*; But though it ſeems Genuine of the *Eaſtern* Countries, yet I do not take it to be ſo old, nor to have ſo much Spirit as the *Greek*. The next Succeſſion of Poetry in Proſe, ſeems to have been in the *Mileſian* Tales, which were a ſort of little Paſtoral Romances; and though much in requeſt in old *Greece* and *Rome*, yet we have no Examples that I know of them, unleſs it be the *Longi Paſtoralia*, which gives a Taſt of the great Delicacy and Pleaſure, that was found ſo generally in thoſe

ſort

ſort of Tales. The laſt kind of Poetry in Proſe, is that which in latter Ages has over-run the World, under the Name of Romances, which tho' it ſeems Modern, and a Production of the *Gothick* Genius, yet the Writing is antient. The remainders of *Petronius Arbiter*, ſeem to be of this kind, and that which *Lucian* calls his True Hiſtory; But the moſt antient that paſſes by the Name, is *Heliodorus*, Famous for the Author's chooſing to loſe his Biſhoprick, rather than diſown that Child of his Wit. The true Spirit or Vein of antient Poetry in this kind, ſeems to ſhine moſt in Sir *Philip Sidney*, whom I eſteem both the Greateſt Poet and the Nobleſt Genius of any that have left Writings behind them, and publiſhed in ours or any other modern Language; a Perſon born capable not only of forming the greateſt *Idœaes*, but of leaving the nobleſt Examples, if the length of his Life had been equal to the excellence of his Wit and his Virtues.

With him I leave the Diſcourſe of antient Poety, and to diſcover the Decays of this Empire, muſt turn to that of the modern, which was introduced after the Decays, or rather Extinction of

of the old, as if true Poetry being dead, an Apparition of it walked about. This mighty Change, arrived by no ſmaller Occaſions, nor more ignoble Revolutions, than thoſe which deſtroyed the antient Empire and Government of *Rome*, and Erected ſo many New ones upon their Ruines, by the Invaſions and Conqueſts, or the general Inundations of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, and other Barbarous or Northern Nations, upon thoſe Parts of *Europe*, that had been ſubject to the *Romans*. After the Conqueſts made by *Cæſar* upon *Gaul*, and the nearer Parts of *Germany*, which were continued and enlarged in the times of *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius* by their Lieutenants or Generals, great Numbers of *Germans* and *Gauls* reſorted to the *Roman* Armies and to the City it ſelf, and habituated themſelves there, as many *Spaniards*, *Syrians*, *Græcians* had done before upon the Conqueſt of thoſe Countries. This mixture, ſoon Corrupted the Purity of the *Latin* Tongue, ſo that in *Lucan*, but more in *Seneca*, we find a great and harſh Allay, entered into the Style of the *Auguſtan* Age. After *Trajan* and *Adrian* had ſubdued many *German* and *Scythian* Nations, on both ſides of the *Danube*,

Danube, the Commerce of thoſe barbarous People grew very frequent with the *Romans*, and I am apt to think, that the little Verſes aſcribed to *Adrian*, were in Imitation of the *Runick* Poetry. The *Scythicas Pati Pruinas* of *Florus*, ſhews their Race or Clymate; and the firſt Rhyme that ever I read in *Latin*, with little Alluſions of Letters or Syllables, is in that of *Adrian* at his Death.

O Animula, vagula, blandula,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Palidula, lurida, timidula,
Nec ut ſoles dabis joca.

'Tis probable the old Spirit of Poetry, being loſt or frighted away by thoſe long and bloody Wars with ſuch barbarous Enemies, this New Ghoſt began to appear in its room, even about that Age, or elſe that *Adrian*, who affected that piece of Learning as well as others, and was not able to reach the old Vein, turned to a new one, which his Expeditions into thoſe Countries, made more allowable in an Emperor, and his Example recommended to others. In the time of *Boetius*, who lived under *Theodorick* in *Rome*, we find the *Latin* Poetry ſmell

ſmell rank of this *Gothick* Imitation, and the old Vein quite ſeared up.

After that Age, Learning grew every day more and more obſcured, by that Cloud of Ignorance, which coming from the *North*, and increaſing with the Numbers and Succeſſes of thoſe barbarous People, at length over-ſhaddowed all *Europe* for ſo long together. The *Roman* Tongue began it ſelf to fail or be diſuſed, and by its Corruption made way for the Generation of three New Languages, in *Spain*, *Italy* and *France*. The Courts of the Princes and Nobles, who were of the Conquering Nations, for ſeveral Ages uſed their *Gothick*, or *Franc*, or *Saxon* Tongues, which were mingled with thoſe of *Germany*, where ſome of the *Goths* had ſojourned long, before they proceeded to their Conqueſts of the more *Southern* or *Weſtern* Parts. Wherever the *Roman* Colonies had long remained, and their Language had been generally ſpoken, the common People uſed that ſtill, but vitiated with the baſe allay of their Provincial Speech. This in *Charlemain*'s time was called in *France*, *Ruſtica Romana*; and in *Spain* during the *Gothick* Reigns there, *Romance*; but in *England*, from whence all the

Roman

Roman Souldiers, and great Numbers of the *Britains* moſt accuſtomed to their Commerce and Language, had been drained, for the Defence of *Gaul* againſt the barbarous Nations that Invaded it; about the time of *Valentinian*, that Tongue being wholly extinguiſh't, (as well as their own) made way for the intire uſe of the *Saxon* Language. With theſe Changes, the antient Poetry was wholly loſt in all theſe Countries, and a new Sort grew up by degrees, which was called by a new Name of Rhymes, with an eaſy Change of the *Gothick* Word *Runes*, and not from the *Greek*, *Rythmes*, as is vulgarly ſuppoſed.

Runes, was properly the Name of the antient *Gothick* Letters or Characters, which were Invented firſt or Introduced by *Odin*, in the Colony or Kingdom of the *Getes* or *Goths*, which he Planted in the *North-Weſt* Parts, and round the *Baltick* Sea, as has been before related. But becauſe all the Writings, they had among them for many Ages, were in Verſe, it came to be the common Name of all ſorts of Poetry among the *Goths*, and the Writers or Compoſers of them, were called *Runers* or *Rymers*. They had likewiſe another Name for them,

or for ſome ſorts of them, which was *Vïſes* or *Wiſes*, and becauſe the Sages of that Nation, expreſſed the beſt of their Thoughts, and what Learning and Prudence they had, in theſe kind of Writings, they that ſucceeded beſt and with moſt Applauſe were termed Wiſe Men; the good Senſe, or Learning, or uſeful Knowledge contained in them, was called Wiſdom, and the pleaſant or facetious Vein among them was called Wit, which was applied to all Spirit or Race of Poetry, where it was found in any Men, and was generally pleaſing to thoſe that heard or read them.

Of theſe *Runes*, there were in uſe among the *Goths* above a Hundred ſeveral ſorts, ſome Compoſed in longer, ſome in ſhorter Lines, ſome equal and others unequal, with many different Cadencies, Quantities, or Feet, which in the pronouncing, make many different ſorts of Original or Natural Tunes. Some were Framed with Alluſions of Words, or Conſonance of Syllables, or of Letters either in the ſame Line or in the Dyſtick, or by alternate Succeſſion and Reſemblance, which made a ſort of Gingle, that pleaſed the ruder Ears of that People. And becauſe

becauſe their Language was Compoſed moſt of Monoſyllables, and of ſo great Numbers, many muſt end in the ſame Sound; another ſort of *Runes* were made, with the Care and Study of ending two Lines, or each other of four Lines, with Words of the ſame Sound, which being the eaſieſt, requiring leſs Art, and needing leſs Spirit (becauſe a certain Chime in the Sounds ſupplied that want, and pleaſed common Ears); this in time grew the moſt general among all the *Gothick* Colonies in *Europe*, and made Rhymes or Runes paſs for the modern Poetry, in theſe parts of the World.

This was not uſed only in their modern Languages, but during thoſe ignorant Ages, even in that barbarous *Latin* which remained, and was preſerved among the *Monks* and *Prieſts*, to diſtinguiſh them, by ſome ſhew of Learning from the Laity, who might well admire it, in what Degree ſoever, and Reverence the Profeſſors, when they themſelves could neither Write nor Read even in their own Language; I mean not only the vulgar Lay men, but even the Generality of Nobles, Barons, and Princes among them; and this laſted till the antient Learning and Languages

began to be reſtored in *Europe*, about Two Hundred Years ago.

The common Vein of the *Gothick Runes* was what is Termed *Dithyrambick*, and was of a raving or rambling ſort of Wit or Invention, looſe and flowing, with little Art or Confinement to any certain Meaſures or Rules; yet ſome of it wanted not the true Spirit of Poetry in ſome Degree, or that natural Inſpiration which has been ſaid to ariſe from ſome ſpark of Poetical Fire, wherewith particular Men are Born. And ſuch as it was, it ſerved the turn, not only to pleaſe, but even to Charm the Ignorant and Barbarous Vulgar, where it was in uſe. This made the *Runers* among the *Goths*, as much in requeſt and admired, as any of the antient and moſt celebrated Poets were among the Learned Nations; for among the Blind, he that has one Eye is a Prince. They were as well as the others thought inſpired, and the Charms of their *Runick* Conceptions, were generally eſteemed Divine or Magical at leaſt.

The ſubjects of them were various, but commonly the ſame with thoſe already obſerved in the true antient Poetry.

try. Yet this Vein was chiefly imployed, upon the Records of bold and Martial Actions, and the Praiſes of Valiant Men that had Fought ſucceſsfully or Dyed bravely; and theſe Songs or Ballads were uſually ſung at Feaſts, or in Circles of Young or Idle Perſons, and ſerved to inflame the Humor of War, of Slaughter and of Spoils among them. More refined Honor or Love, had little part in the Writings, becauſe it had little in the Lives or Actions of thoſe fierce People and bloody Times. Honor among them conſiſted in Victory, and Love in Rapes and in Luſt.

But as the true Flame of Poetry was rare among them, and the reſt was but Wild Fire that Sparkled or rather Crackled a while, and ſoon went out with little pleaſure or gazing of the Beholder; Thoſe *Runers* who could not raiſe Admiration by the Spirit of their Poetry, endeavoured to do it by another, which was that of Enchantments; This came in to ſupply the Defect of that Sublime and Marvellous, which has been found both in Poetry and Proſe among the Learned Antients. The *Gothick Runers* to Gain and Eſtabliſh the Credit and Admiration of their Rhymes, turned the uſe

of them very much to Incantations and Charms, pretending by them, to raiſe Storms, to Calm the Seas, to cauſe Terror in their Enemies, to Tranſport themſelves in the Air, to Conjure Spirits, to Cure Diſeaſes, and Stanch Bleeding Wounds, to make Women kind or eaſy, and Men hard or invulnerable; as one of their moſt antient *Runers*, affirms of himſelf and his own Atchievments, by Force of theſe Magical Arms. The Men or Women who were thought to perform ſuch Wonders or Enchantments, were from *Vüſes* or *Wiſes*, the Name of thoſe Verſes wherein their Charms were conceived, called *Wizards* or *Witches*.

Out of this Quarry, ſeem to have been raiſed all thoſe Trophees of Enchantment, that appear in the whole Fabrick of the old *Spaniſh* Romances, which were the Productions of the *Gothick* Wit among them during their Reign, and after the Conqueſts of *Spain*, by the *Saracens*, they were applied to the long Wars between them and the Chriſtians. From the ſame perhaps may be derived, all the viſionary Tribe of *Fairies*, *Elves*, and *Goblins*, of *Sprites* and of *Bul-baggers*, that ſerve not only to fright Children into what ever their Nurſes pleaſe, but ſome-

ſometimes, by laſting Impreſſions, to diſquiet the ſleeps and the very Lives of Men and Women, till they grow to Years of Diſcretion, and that God knows is a period of time, which ſome People Arrive to but very late, and perhaps others never. At leaſt this belief prevailed ſo far among the *Goths* and their Races, that all ſorts of Charms, were not only Attributed to their *Runes* or *Verſes*, but to their very Characters; ſo that about the Eleventh Century, they were forbidden and aboliſhed in *Sueden*, as they had been before in *Spain*, by Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Commands or Conſtitutions, and what has been ſince recovered of that Learning or Language, has been fetcht as far as *Iſland* it ſelf.

How much of this Kind, and of this Credulity remained even to our own Age, may be obſerved by any Man that Reflects ſo far as Thirty or Forty Years; how often Avouched, and how generally Credited with the Stories of *Fairies*, *Sprites*, *Witchcrafts*, and *Enchantments*; In ſome Parts of *France*, and not longer ago, the common People believed certainly, there were *Lougaroos*, or Men turned into VVolves; and I remember ſeveral *Iriſh* of the ſame mind. The

Remainders are woven into our very Language, *Mara* in old *Runick* was a *Goblin* that ſeized upon Men aſleep in their Beds, and took from them all Speech and Motion. Old *Nicka* was a Sprite that came to ſtrangle People who fell into the Water; *Bo* was a fierce *Gothick* Captain, Son of *Odin*, whoſe Name was uſed by his Souldiers when they would fright or ſurpriſe their Enemies; and the Proverb of Rhyming, *Rats to Death*, came I ſuppoſe from the ſame Root.

There were not longer ſince than the time I have mentioned, ſome Remainders of the *Runick* Poetry among the *Iriſh*. The great Men of their Septs, among the many Offices of their Family, which continued always in the ſame Races, had not only a *Phyſitian*, a *Hunts-man*, a *Smith*, and ſuch like, but a Poet, and a *Tale-teller*: The Firſt, Recorded and Sung the Actions of their Anceſtors, and Entertained the Company at Feaſts; The Later, amuzed them with Tales when they were Melancholy and could not ſleep: And a very Gallant Gentleman of the *North* of *Ireland* has told me, of his own Experience, That in his Wolf-huntings there, when he uſed to be a-

broad

broad in the Mountains three or four Days together, and lay very ill a Nights, ſo as he could not well ſleep, they would bring him one of theſe *Tale-tellers*, that when he lay down, would begin a Story of a King, or a Gyant, a Dwarf and a Damoſel, and ſuch rambling ſtuff, and continue it all Night long in ſuch an even Tone, that you heard it going on, whenever you awaked; and he believed nothing any Phyſitians give, could have ſo good and ſo innocent effect, to make Men Sleep, in any Pains or Diſtempers of Body or Mind. I remember in my youth, ſome Perſons of our Country to have ſaid Grace in Rhymes, and others their conſtant Prayers; and 'tis vulgar enough, that ſome Deeds or Conveyances of Land have been ſo, ſince the Conqueſt.

In ſuch poor wretched Weeds as theſe, was Poetry clothed during thoſe ſhades of Ignorance that over-ſpread all *Europe*, for ſo many Ages after the Sun-ſet of the *Roman* Learning and Empire together, which were ſucceeded by ſo many New Dominions, or Plantations of the *Gothick* Swarms, and by a new Face of Cuſtoms, Habit, Language, and almoſt of Nature; but upon the dawn of a New Day, and the Reſurrection of other Sciences,

ences, with the Two Learned Languages among us, This of Poetry began to appear very early, tho' very unlike it ſelf, and in Shapes as well as Cloaths, in Humor and in Spirit very different from the Antient. It was now all in Rhyme, after the *Gothick* Faſhion, for indeed none of the ſeveral Dialects of that Language or Allay, would bear the Compoſure of ſuch Feet and Meaſures, as were in uſe among the *Greeks* and *Latins*, and ſome that attempted it, ſoon left it off, deſpairing of Succeſs. Yet in this New Dreſs, Poetry was not without ſome Charms, eſpecially thoſe of Grace and Sweetneſs, and the Oar begun to ſhine in the Hands and Works of the firſt Refiners. *Petrach*, *Ronſard*, *Spencer*, met with much Applauſe upon the Subjects of Love, Praiſe, Grief, Reproach. *Arioſto* and *Taſſo*, entered boldly upon the Scene of *Heroick* Poems, but having not Wings for ſo high Flights, began to Learn of the old Ones, fell upon their Imitations, and chiefly of *Virgil*, as far as the Force of their Genius, or Diſadvantage of New Languages and Cuſtoms would allow. The Religion of the Gentiles, had been woven into the Contexture of all the antient Poetry, with a very agreeable mixture, which made

made the Moderns affect, to give that of Chriſtianity, a place alſo in their Poems. But the true Religion, was not found to become Fiction ſo well, as a falſe had done, and all their Attempts of this kind, ſeemed rather to debaſe Religion, than to heighten Poetry. *Spencer* endeavoured to Supply this, with Morality, and to make Inſtruction, inſtead of Story, the Subject of an *Epick* Poem. His Execution was Excellent, and his Flights of Fancy very Noble and High, but his Deſign was Poor, and his Moral lay ſo bare, that it loſt the Effect; 'tis true, the Pill was Gilded, but ſo thin, that the Colour and the Taſte were too eaſily diſcovered.

After theſe three, I know none of the Moderns that have made any Atchievments in *Heroick* Poetry worth Recording. The Wits of the Age, ſoon left off ſuch bold Adventures, and turned to other Veins, as if not worthy to ſit down at the Feaſt, they contented themſelves with the Scraps, with Songs and Sonnets, with Odes and Elegies, with Satyrs and Panegyricks, and what we call Copies of Verſes upon any Subjects or Occaſions, wanting either Genius or Application for Nobler or more Laborious Productions, as *Painters* that cannot Succeed

ceed in great Pieces, turn to Miniature.

But the modern Poets, to Value this ſmall Coyn, and make it paſs, tho' of ſo much a baſer Metal than the old, gave it a New Mixture from Two Veins, which were little known or little eſteemed among the Ancients. There were indeed certain *Fairyes* in the old Regions of Poetry, called *Epigrams*, which ſeldom reached above the Stature of Two, or Four, or Six Lines, and which being ſo ſhort, were all turned upon Conceit, or ſome ſharp Hits of Fancy or Wit. The only Antient of this kind among the *Latins*, were the *Priapeia*, which were little Voluntaries or Extemporaries, Written upon the ridiculous Wooden Statues of *Priapus*, among the Gardens of *Rome*. In the decays of the *Roman* Learning and Wit as well as Language; *Martial*, *Auſonius*, and others fell into this Vein, and applied it indifferently to all Subjects which was before reſtrained to one, and dreſt it ſomething more cleanly than it was Born. This Vein of Conceit, ſeemed proper for ſuch Scraps or Splinters, into which Poetry was broken, and was ſo eagerly followed, as almoſt to over-run all that was Compoſed in our ſeveral modern Languages; The *Italian*, the *French*, the

the *Spaniſh* as well as *Engliſh*, were for a great while full of nothing elſe but Conceit: It was an Ingredient, that gave Taſte to Compoſitions which had little of themſelves; 'twas a Sauce that gave Point to Meat that was Flat, and ſome Life to Colours that were fading; and in ſhort, thoſe who could not furniſh Spirit, ſupplied it with this Salt, which may preſerve Things or Bodies that are Dead; but is for ought I know, of little uſe to the Living, or neceſſary to Meats that have much or pleaſing Taſts of their own. However it were, this Vein firſt over-flowed our modern Poetry, and with ſo little Diſtinction or Judgment that we would have Conceit as well as Rhyme in every Two Lines, and run through all our long Scribbles as well as the ſhort, and the whole Body of the Poem, whatever it is: This was juſt as if a Building ſhould be nothing but Ornament, or Cloaths nothing but Trimming; as if a Face ſhould be covered over with black Patches, or a Gown with Spangles, which is all I ſhall ſay of it.

Another Vein which was entered and helpt to Corrupt our modern Poeſy, is that of Ridicule, as if nothing pleaſed but what made one Laugh, which yet come from

from Two very different Affections of the mind; for as Men have no Diſpoſition to Laugh at things they are moſt pleaſed with, ſo they are very little pleaſed with many things they Laugh at.

But this miſtake is very general, and ſuch modern Poets, as found no better way of pleaſing, though they could not fail of it, by Ridiculing. This was Encouraged by finding Converſation run ſo much into the ſame Vein, and the Wits in Vogue to take up with that Part of it, which was formerly left to thoſe that were called Fools, and were uſed in great Families, only to make the Company Laugh. What Opinion the *Romans* had of this Character, appears in thoſe Lines of *Horace:*

——— Abſentem qui rodit amicum,
Qui non defendit alio culpante, ſolutos
Qui captat riſus hominum famamq; dicacis
Fingere qui non viſa poteſt, Commiſſa tacere
Qui nequit, Hic Niger eſt, Hunc tu Romane
caveto.

And 'tis pity the Character of a Wit, in one Age, ſhould be ſo like that of a Black in another.

Rablais ſeems to have been Father of the Ridicule, a Man of Excellent and Univerſal

verſal Learning as well as Wit, and tho' he had too much Game given him for *Satyr* in that Age, by the the Cuſtoms of Courts and of Convents, of Proceſſes and of Wars, of Schools and of Camps, of Romances and Legends, Yet he muſt be Confeſt to have kept up his Vein of Ridicule by ſaying many things ſo Malicious, ſo Smutty, and ſo Prophane, that either a Prudent, a Modeſt, or a Pious Man, could not have afforded, tho' he had never ſo much of that Coyn about him, and it were to be wiſhed, that the Wits who have followed his Vein, had not put too much Value upon a Dreſs, that better Underſtandings would not wear (at leaſt in publick) and upon a compaſs they gave themſelves, which other Men would not take. The Matchleſs Writer of *Don Quixot* is much more to be admired, for having made up ſo Excellent a Compoſition of Satyr or Ridicule, without thoſe Ingredients, and ſeems to be the beſt and higheſt Strain that ever was, or will be reached by that Vein.

It began firſt in Verſe, with an *Italian* Poem, called *La Secchia Rapita*, was purſued by *Scarron* in *French* with his *Virgil* Traveſty, and in *Engliſh* by Sir *John Mince*, *Hudibras*, and *Cotton*, and with

with greater height of *Burleſque* in the *Engliſh*, than I think in any other Language. But let the Execution be what it will, the Deſign, the Cuſtom, and Example are very pernicious to Poetry, and indeed, to all Virtue and Good Qualites among Men, which muſt be diſheartened, by finding how unjuſtly and undiſtinguiſh't they fall under the laſh of Raillery, and this Vein of Ridiculing the Good as well as the ill, the Guilty and the Innocent together. 'Tis a very poor, tho' common Pretence to merit, to make it appear by the Faults of other Men. A mean Wit or Beauty may paſs in a Room, where the reſt of the Company are allowed to have none, 'tis ſomething to ſparkle among Diamonds, but to ſhine among *Pebbles*, is neither Credit nor Value worth the pretending.

Beſides, theſe Two Veins brought in, to ſupply the Defects of the modern Poetry, much Application has been made to the ſmoothneſs of Language or Style; which has at the beſt, but the Beauty of Colouring in a Picture, & can never make a good one, without Spirit and Strength. The Academy ſet up by Cardinal *Richlieu*, to amuſe the Wits of that Age and Country, and divert them from raking

raking into his Politicks and Miniſtry, brought this in Vogue, and the *French* Wits have for this laſt Age, been in a manner, wholly turned to the Refinement of their Language, and indeed with ſuch Succeſs, that it can hardly be excelled, and runs equally through their Verſe and their Proſe. The ſame Vein has been likewiſe much Cultivated in our modern *Engliſh* Poetry, and by ſuch poor Recruits, have the broken Forces of this Empire been of late made up, with what Succeſs I leave to be judged by ſuch, as conſider it in the former Heights, and the preſent Declines both of Power and of Honor; but this will not diſcourage, however it may affect, the true Lovers of this Miſtreſs, who muſt ever think her a Beauty in Raggs as well as in Robes.

Among theſe many Decays, there is yet one ſort of Poetry, that ſeems to have Succeeded much better with our Moderns, than any of the reſt, which is *Dramatick*, or that of the Stage: In this, the *Italian*, the *Spaniſh*, and the *French*, have all had their different Merit, and received their juſt Applauſes. Yet I am deceived, if our *Engliſh*, has not in ſome kind excelled both the Modern

and the Antient, which has been by Force of a Vein Natural perhaps to our Country, and which with us, is called Humour, a Word peculiar to our Language too, and hard to be Expreſſed in any other; nor is it (that I know of) found in any Foreign Writers, unleſs it be *Moliere*, and yet his it ſelf, has too much of the Farce, to paſs for the ſame with ours. *Shakeſpear* was the firſt that opened this Vein upon our Stage, which has run ſo freely and ſo pleaſantly ever ſince, that I have often wondered, to find it appear ſo little upon any others; being a Subject ſo proper for them, ſince Humor is but a Picture of particular Life, as Comedy is of general, and tho' it repreſents Diſpoſitions and Cuſtoms leſs common, yet they are not leſs natural than thoſe that are more frequent among Men; for if Humor it ſelf be forced, it loſes all the Grace, which has been indeed the Fault of ſome of our Poets moſt Celebrated in this kind.

It may ſeem a Defect in the antient Stage, that the Characters introduced were ſo few, and thoſe ſo common, as a Covetous Old Man, an Amorous Young, a Witty Wench, a Crafty Slave, a Bragging

ging Souldier: The Spectators met nothing upon the Stage, but what they met in the Streets and at every Turn. All the Variety is drawn only from different and uncommon Events; whereas if the Characters are so too, the Diversity and the Pleasure must needs be the more. But as of most general Customs in a Country, there is usually some Ground, from the Nature of the People or the Clymat, so there may be amongst us, for this Vein of our Stage, and a greater variety of Humor in the Picture, because there is a greater variety in the Life. This may proceed, from the Native Plenty of our Soyl, the unequalness of our Clymat, as well as the Ease of our Government, and the Liberty of Professing Opinions and Factions, which perhaps our Neighbors may have about them, but are forced to Disguise, and thereby they may come in time to be Extinguish't. Plenty begets Wantonness and Pride, Wantonness is apt to Invent, and Pride scorns to Imitate; Liberty begets Stomack or Heart, and Stomack will not be Constrained. Thus we come to have more Originals, and more that appear what they are, we have more Humor because every Man follows his own, and takes a Pleasure, perhaps a Pride to shew it.

On the contrary, where the People are generally poor, and forced to hard Labour, their Actions and Lives are all of a Piece; where they ſerve hard Maſters, they muſt follow his Examples as well as Commands, and are forced upon Imitation in ſmall Matters, as well as Obedience in great: So that ſome Nations look as if they were caſt all by one Mould, or Cut out all by one Pattern, (at leaſt the common People in one, and the Gentlemen in another): They ſeem all of a ſort in their Habits, their Cuſtoms, and even their Talk and Converſation, as well as in the Application and Purſuit of their Actions and their Lives.

Beſides all this, there is another ſort of Variety amongſt us, which ariſes from our Clymat, and the Diſpoſitions it Naturally produces. We are not only more unlike one another, than any Nation I know; but we are more unlike our ſelves too, at ſeveral times, and owe to our very Air, ſome ill Qualities as well as many good: We may allow ſome Diſtempers Incident to our Clymat, ſince ſo much Health, Vigor and Length of Life have been generally Aſcribed to it; for among the *Greek* and *Roman* Authors themſelves, we ſhall find the *Britains* obſerved, to Live the longeſt, and the *Ægyptians*

gyptians the ſhorteſt, of any Nations that were known in thoſe Ages. Beſides, I think none will Diſpute the Native Courage of our Men, and Beauty of our Women, which may be elſewhere as great in Particulars, but no where ſo in General; they may be (what is ſaid of Diſeaſes) as Acute in other Places, but with us, they are Epidemical. For my own Part, who have Converſed much with Men of other Nations, and ſuch as have been both in great Imployments and Eſteem, I can ſay very impartially, that I have not obſerved among any, ſo much true Genius as among the *Engliſh*; No where more Sharpneſs of Wit, more Pleaſantneſs of Humor, more Range of Fancy, more Penetration of Thought or Depth of Reflection among the better Sort: No where more Goodneſs of Nature and of Meaning, nor more Plainneſs of Senſe and of Life than among the common Sort of Countrey People, nor more blunt Courage and Honeſty, than among our Sea-men.

But with all this, our Country muſt be confeſt, to be what a great Foreign Phyſitian called it, The Region of Spleen, which may ariſe a good deal from the great uncertainty and many ſuddain

Changes of our Weather in all Seaſons of the Year: And how much theſe Affect the Heads and Hearts, eſpecially of the fineſt Tempers, is hard to be Believed by Men, whoſe Thoughts are not turned to ſuch Speculations. This makes us unequal in our Humours, inconſtant in our Paſſions, uncertain in our Ends, and even in our Deſires. Beſides, our different Opinions in Religion and the Factions they have Raiſed or Animated, for Fifty Years paſt, have had an ill Effect upon our Manners and Cuſtoms, inducing more Avarice, Ambition, Diſguiſe (with the uſual Conſequences of them) than were before in our Conſtitution. From all this it may happen that there is no where more true Zeal in the many different Forms of Devotion, and yet no where more Knavery under the Shews and Pretences. There are no where ſo many Diſputers upon Religion, ſo many Reaſoners upon Government, ſo many Refiners in Politicks, ſo many Curious Inquiſitives, ſo many Pretenders to Buſineſs and State-Imployments, greater Porers upon Books, nor Plodders after Wealth. And yet no where more Abandoned Libertines, more Refined Luxuriſts,

uriſts, Extravagant Debauches, Conceited Gallants, more Dablers in Poetry as well as Politicks, in Phyloſophy and in Chymiſtry. I have had ſeveral Servants far gone in Divinity, others in Poetry, have known in the Families of ſome Friends, a Keeper deep in the *Roſycrucian* Principles, and a Laundreſs firm in thoſe of *Epicurus*. What Effect ſoever ſuch a Compoſition or Medly among us may have upon our Lives or our Government, it muſt needs have a good one upon our Stage, and has given admirable Play to our Comical Wits. So that in my Opinion there is no Vein of that ſort either Antient or Modern, which Excels or Equals the Humor of our Plays.

I cannot but obſerve, for the Honor of our Country, that the good Qualities amongſt us, ſeem to be Natural, and the ill ones more Accidental, and ſuch as would be eaſily Changed by the Examples of Princes, and by the Precepts of Laws; ſuch I mean as ſhould be Deſigned to Form Manners, to Reſtrain Exceſſes, to Encourage Induſtry, to Prevent Mens Expences beyond their Fortunes, to Countenance Virtue, and Raiſe that True Eſteem due to Plain Senſe and Common Honeſty.

But to Spin off this Thread which is already Grown too Long: What Honor and Requeſt the antient Poetry has Lived in, may not only be Obſerved from the Univerſal Reception and Uſe in all Nations from *China* to *Peru*, from *Scythia* to *Arabia*, but from the Eſteem of the Beſt and the Greateſt Men as well as the Vulgar. Among the *Hebrews*, *David* and *Solomon* the Wiſeſt Kings, *Job* and *Jeremiah* the Holieſt Men, were the beſt Poets of their Nation and Language. Among the *Greeks*, the Two moſt Renowned Sages and Law-givers were *Lycurgus* and *Solon*, whereof the Laſt is known to have Excelled in Poetry, and the Firſt was ſo great a Lover of it, That to his Care and Induſtry we are ſaid (by ſome Authors) to owe the Collection and Preſervation of the looſe and ſcattered Pieces of *Homer*, in the Order wherein they have ſince appeared. *Alexander* is Reported neither to have Travelled nor Slept, whithout thoſe admirable Poems always in his Company. *Phalaris* that was Inexorable to all other Enemies, Relented at the Charms of *Steſichorus* his Muſe. Among the *Romans*, the Firſt and Great *Scipio*, paſſed the ſoft Hours of his Life in the Con-

Converſation of *Terence*, & was thought to have a Part in the Compoſition of his Comedies. *Cæſar* was an Excellent Poet as well as Orator, and Compoſed a Poem in his Voyage from *Rome* to *Spain*, Relieving the Tedious Difficulties of his March, with the Entertainments of his Muſe. *Auguſtus* was not only a Patron, but a Friend and Companion of *Virgil* and *Horace*, and was himſelf, both an Admirer of Poetry, and a Pretender too, as far as his Genius would reach, or his buſy Scene allow. 'Tis true, ſince his Age, we have few ſuch Examples of great Princes favouring or affecting Poetry, and as few perhaps of great Poets deſerving it. Whether it be, that the fierceneſs of the *Gothick* Humors, or Noiſe of their perpetual Wars frighted it away, or that the unequal mixture of the modern Languages would not bear it. Certain it is, That the great Heights and Excellency both of Poetry and Muſick, fell with the *Roman* Learning and Empire, and have never ſince recovered the Admiration and Applauſes that before attended them. Yet ſuch as they are amongſt us, they muſt be confeſt to be the Softeſt and Sweeteſt, the moſt

General

General and moſt Innocent Amuſements of common Time and Life. They ſtill find Room in the Courts of Princes, and the Cottages of Shepherds. They ſerve to Revive and Animate the dead Calm of poor or idle Lives, and to Allay or Divert the violent paſſions and perturbations of the greateſt and the buſieſt Men. And both theſe Effects, are of equal Uſe to Humane Life; for the Mind of Man is like the Sea, which is neither agreeable to the Beholder nor the Voyager, in a Calm or in a Storm, but is ſo to both, when a little Agitated by gentle Gales; and ſo the Mind, when moved by ſoft and eaſie paſſions or affections. I know very well that many who pretend to be Wiſe, by the Forms of being Grave, are apt to deſpiſe both Poetry and Muſick, as Toys and Trifles too light for the Uſe or Entertainment of ſerious Men. But whoever find themſelves wholly inſenſible to theſe Charms, would I think do well, to keep their own Counſel, for fear of Reproaching their own Temper, and bringing the Goodneſs of their Natures, if not of their Underſtandings, into Queſtion; It may be thought at leaſt an ill Sign, if not an

ill

ill Conſtitution, ſince ſome of the Fathers went ſo far, as to eſteem the Love of Muſick a ſign of Predeſtination, as a thing Divine, and Reſerved for the Felicities of Heaven it ſelf. While this World laſts, I doubt not, but the Pleaſure and Requeſt of theſe Two Entertainments, will do ſo too, and happy thoſe that content themſelves with theſe or any other ſo Eaſie and ſo Innocent, and do not trouble the World or other Men, becauſe they cannot be quiet themſelves, tho' no body hurts them.

When all is done, Human Life is at the greateſt and the beſt, but like a froward Child, that muſt be play'd with, and Humour'd a little, to keep it quiet, till it falls aſleep, and then the Care is over.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAge 217 Line 9. for *Deſpoſition* read *Depoſition.*